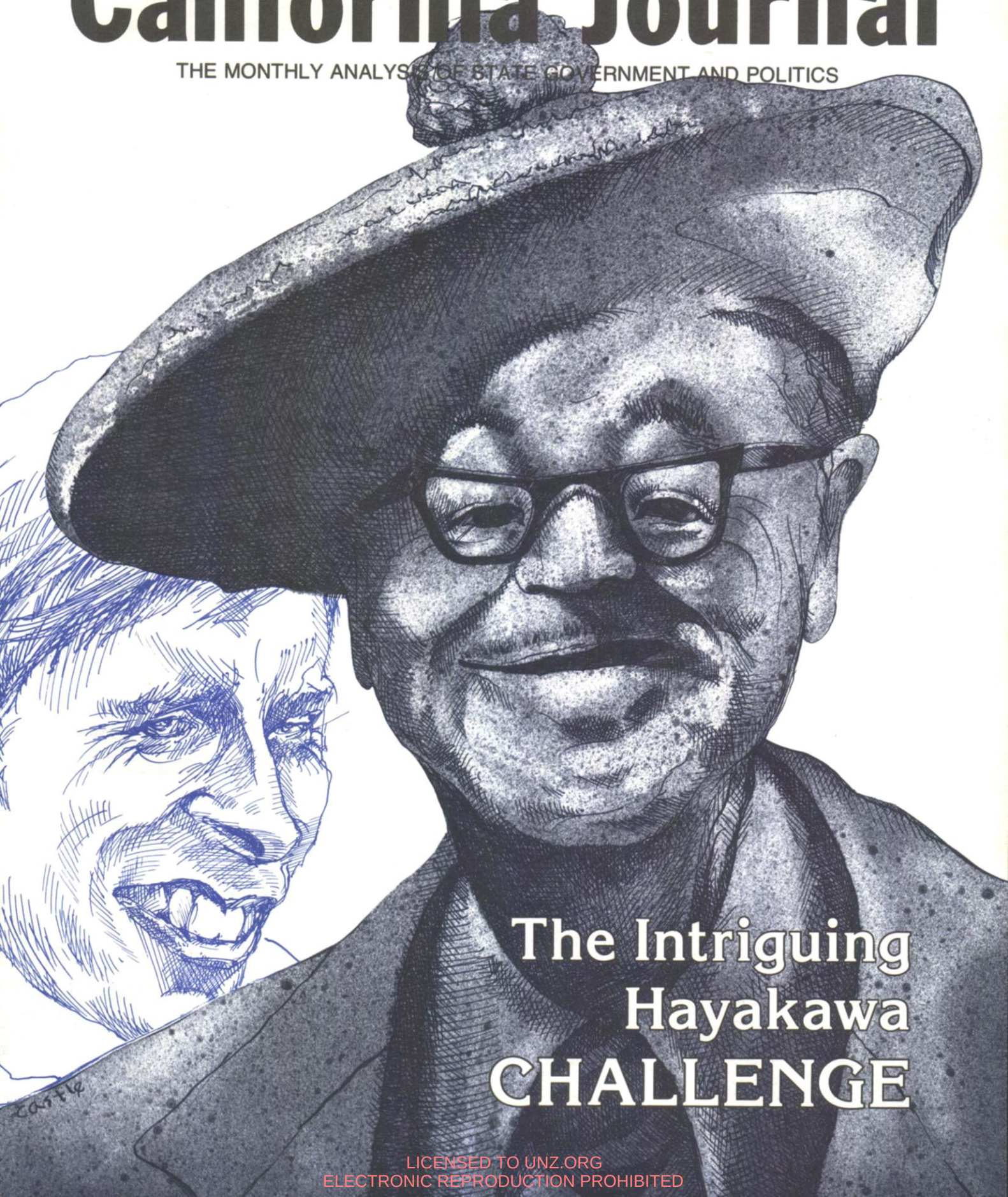


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Thomas R. Hoeber

EDITOR
Ed Salzman

MANAGING EDITOR
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ART DIRECTOR
Jan Castle

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Lou Cannon

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Donna Rivers, Tom Zanze

CONTRIBUTING WRITERS: Robert
Feinbaum, Leo Rennert, Carla
Lazzareschi

SUBSCRIPTION MANAGER:
Barbara Aguirre

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A PERSONAL PERSPECTIVE . . .

By Ed Salzman

Promises, promises

One of these days, George Moscone will realize that some of his Sacramento friends were right when they advised him not to abandon a life of political comfort in the Capitol for the sticky and literally stinking problems of San Francisco. He's faced one crisis after another: the near loss of the Giants, the public-employee strike, and the controversy over the Yerba Buena center and the Seals hockey team.

What really hurt was the action by the Regional Water Quality Control Board banning most new construction in the city because San Francisco has not met orders to modernize its antiquated sewage system which sends raw sewage into San Francisco Bay during the rainy season. Moscone professed outrage at the action, claiming the order would result in economic stagnation for the city.

Let's look at the record: San Francisco's sewage system has been a scandal for decades. The state's Porter-Cologne Act, which gave water-pollution boards the authority to levy fines and halt construction, might well have been written with San Francisco in mind. The city refused to put up the money needed to modernize the system and, instead, prayed for no rain so that nobody would notice.

Seven years ago, the state Water Resources Control Board placed a construction ban (technically a prohibition on sewer connections) on San Francisco. Then-Mayor Joe Alioto came roaring to Sacramento sounding like a penitent sinner. Let us build, he said, and we'll clean up our sewage act.

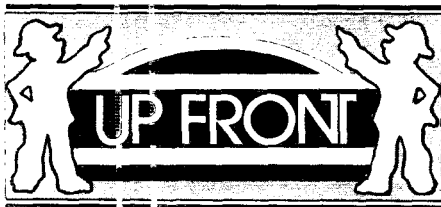
Promises, promises. The board gave Alioto a chance. But not enough was done, and the state board started pressing the regional board for action. That was the situation inherited by Moscone, who did more to advance anti-pollution projects in five months than Alioto had accomplished in eight years. Yet Moscone was hit with the ban, which has since been modified.

The state board feels sympathetic toward Moscone. But it faces a dilemma: What good are the pollution laws if the penalties will not be used against the most flagrant violators? After pressuring the local board to take a stand, how can the state board overrule it?

Moscone deserves a chance. But San Francisco doesn't.

James W. Halley

Among others, this magazine suffered a great loss last month with the death of James W. Halley, 55, vice-chairman of the *Journal's* parent corporation, the California Center for Research and Education in Government. Jim Halley, a San Francisco attorney and former Republican state chairman, played a significant behind-the-scenes role in the development of the *Journal*. He championed independence for editors in the determination of *Journal* content. At board meetings, he often emphasized that the prime consideration in the decision-making process should be the quality of the magazine. The fact that the presence of Jim Halley — and the other members of the board — has not been visible to our readers says a great deal about his contribution to the rapid growth of the *Journal* over the past three years.



According to a story making the rounds of local government officials these days, here are the three most commonly told lies in America today:

- *I gave at the office.*
- *I put the check in the mail this morning.*
- *I'm from the federal government and I'm here to help you.*

The scene was a closed-door meeting of the Assembly Democratic caucus, and the subject was a proposal that would raise salaries for legislators. Alan Sieroty, a bachelor and one of the wealthiest members of the Legislature, spoke out against a salary hike. The response came from Teresa Hughes, a first-year representative from the Watts area of Los Angeles. "Alan," she said, "if you'll marry me, I'll give up the pay raise too."

The downfall of Congressman Wayne Hays was a blow to the aspirations of Congressman Phil Burton of San Francisco, who is in a three-way contest to win the number-two post in the House of Representatives. Hays was one of Burton's key allies. California Congressman John McFall of Manteca and Richard Bolling of Missouri are the other contenders for the job of majority leader (now held by Tip O'Neill of Massachusetts who is scheduled to succeed Carl Albert as speaker next year).

The relatively few votes (less than one percent) given to pro-life advocate Ellen McCormack of New York in California's Democratic presidential primary should indicate how moot the abortion issue is in the state. The uncommitted slate, which stood for nothing, received more than twice as many votes.

Jerry Brown could put a dent in the unemployment problem by filling impending vacancies in the Governor's office. Three more top aides — Marc Poche, Tony Kline and Preble Stolz — are about to leave, following in the footsteps of Bill Stall and Paul Halvonik.

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The \$800 million everyone wants

As a presidential candidate, Governor Jerry Brown has been telling audiences: "I'm not conservative, I'm just cheap." That line is undoubtedly good for laughs, but the current condition of the state treasury seems to bear him out.

State Finance Director Roy Bell reported to the Legislature in mid-May a projected surplus of more than \$800 million is expected at the end of the 1976-77 fiscal year. That estimate presumes passage of a state budget of \$12.7 billion, about \$100 million more than originally requested by the Governor.

Brown's tightness with the buck is only one of two major factors that have produced the whopping reserve — equivalent to the entire state budget of 1948 and about half the state expenditure of 20 years ago. The other factor, perhaps the most significant of the two, is the improved condition of the state's economy. When economic conditions improve, the state gets the benefit of higher tax receipts before it must spend those dollars in the form of higher employee salaries.

The question now is what will be done with the huge surplus. There may be more alternatives than meet the eye. Bell has indicated that retaining a reserve in the \$300-million area would be prudent. This would reduce the disposable surplus to \$500 million, presuming the Governor is willing to see his fiscal cushion reduced that much. He has the power to prevent any expenditures that would cut the margin, subject only to a veto override by two-thirds of the Senate and Assembly.

There are six alternative uses for the surplus:

- It can be kept in a rainy-day fund to prevent a future tax increase.
- It can be given back to the people in the form of a tax rebate, as was done on one occasion by Ronald Reagan.
- It can be used as part of a tax-reform package, for example, allowing the state to put a cost-of-living factor

into the individual tax rate schedule.

- It can be used to help the state meet the demands of the *Serrano v. Priest* school finance decision, assuming it is reaffirmed this year by the state Supreme Court. (Serrano would invalidate the present local property-tax method of financing education.)

- It can be used to help lift the financial burden from local government, which has requested additional state aid be provided in the form of revenue sharing.

- It can be used for a variety of expenditures, such as increased benefits in the health-and-welfare area.

Two or more alternatives could be employed. A great deal depends on the political strategy adopted by Brown.

In all likelihood, Brown will return from the Democratic National Convention in New York this month as just plain Governor Brown. (If he should win a place on the national ticket, California's fiscal questions will probably be put in cold storage for the duration of the campaign.) Brown's goal will be to reestablish his image as a skinflint crusader against government following his sojourn as an ambitious national politician.

Brown would like to keep as much

of the surplus as possible to guarantee that he will not be forced to raise taxes before he seeks reelection in 1978. But preserving all \$800 million probably will be impossible because the pressures are so great.

A sound reason for holding a decision in abeyance is the uncertainty over *Serrano*. Should the Supreme Court reaffirm its decision, the state may need the entire \$800 million and more to meet the fiscal implications of that ruling. There are those who claim that the state can meet the technical requirements of *Serrano* by reestablishing the fiscal status quo under a new set of apportionment standards—the exceptions, the extremely wealthy or extremely poor districts.

His popularity would be enhanced by almost any kind of a tax-rebate plan, and conservative newspapers in the state have already called for this method of using the surplus. The question is how the tax would be rebated. Clearly, the most politically advantageous would be a cut in the personal income tax.

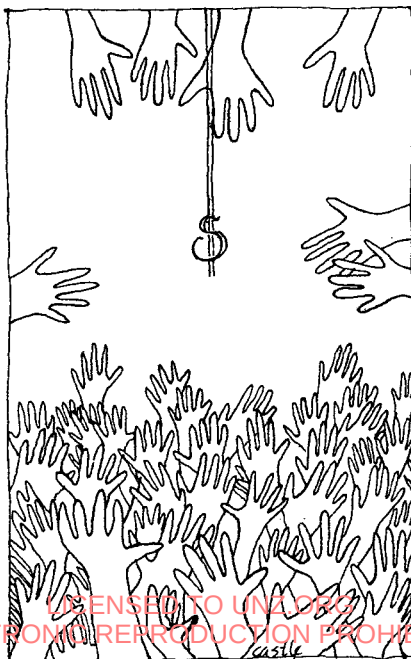
Even before the surplus became apparent, the California Taxpayers Association and others were calling for the institution of a so-called indexing system for the income tax. This would relate the tax structure to the cost of living each year, so the state would not reap a windfall from inflation at the expense of the taxpayer. Should this come about, however, it will probably be part of an overall tax-reform package.

Local government also has been crying for money, accusing the state of putting property-tax limits on local agencies and, at the same time, passing bills that increase the cost of government. Brown has refused to respond favorably to these pleas, but now he may find it more difficult to say no.

Politically, the worst way to spend the money is for a variety of services through increases in the state budget or special appropriation bills. These expenditures have little overall impact on the electorate and, instead, help the Governor and legislators make friends with special-interest groups. The pressures are always great—from public employees, the University of California, welfare recipients, Medi-Cal providers.

The surplus has raised the hopes of taxpayers, educators, local officials, and smaller special-interest groups. With so much money on hand, this is one time Jerry Brown faces a near-impossible task of lowering expectations.

E.S.



POWER TO THE SPENDER

Bill Richardson – the gun-money dealer

By LAURIE ROESE

"This may sound strange. But I abhor power."

Nothing from the mouth of conservative Republican state Senator H.L. (Bill) Richardson could sound less strange. Consider the following conditions: Eight months ago, Richardson founded Gun Owners of America (GOA), a campaign organization which supports pro-gun candidates running for state or federal office. Richardson alone has the power to disperse funds. More than \$700,000 already has been raised. By election day this November, the senator hopes to have received over \$1 million. That amount of money converts into considerable political influence for a man who abhors power.

The Richardson-GOA fund is supposed to be employed to help pro-gun candidates get elected. But since most of the money is going to Republicans, Richardson could accumulate political power even if he backs losers in November. He could take control of the GOP party machinery in California because even unsuccessful nominees control votes at state conventions. Combine Richardson's pro-gun candidates with his natural conservative allies and the senator is bound to emerge as one of the dominant forces in the Republican party by the end of this year. There are even those who are predicting that he might run for governor in 1973, despite his overwhelming defeat in his last statewide run for office against United States Senator Alan Cranston.

In the era of the media blitz and attractive physical presence, Richardson hardly looks like a man destined to become a major power in California. Short and energetic, humorous and explosive, the 49-year-old former advertising man looks rumpled even in a well-pressed grey suit. He never seems to be walking; rather he bustles down Capitol hallways and into committee rooms. He seems to be moving even when sitting at his desk. His coat sleeves hang a bit long, as do his trouser cuffs.

On the wall behind the senator's desk hang pictures of his hunting dog, a membership certificate from the Safari Club of Los Angeles, and a photograph of a lion that had apparently fallen prey to this hunter's telescopic eye. Flanking his desk are two pheasants garnished with bunting, appropriate andirons for a man whose pro-gun activities are shooting holes in the anti-gun movement.

Wanted: pro-gun legislators

Richardson points to the failure of the hand-gun control initiative to qualify for the November ballot as indicative of the GOA's political force. The overriding reason why the GOA and its offshoot, Gun Owners of California (GOC), was

founded, according to Richardson, was not to rally public opposition against any one attempt to ban firearms, but to put a stop to such efforts once and for all.

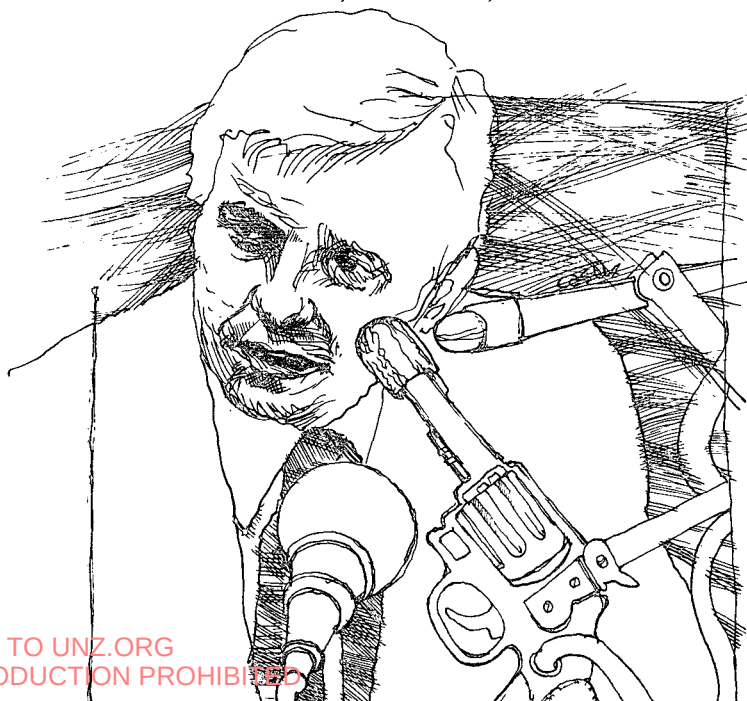
To do that Richardson decided to transform the gun lobby from a "defensive" political force into an "offensive" force. "We're not defensive, we're attack oriented. Our object is not to stop legislation; our object is to get new legislators," Richardson maintains.

The National Rifle Association until recently had never fielded or supported candidates. With funds solicited from its membership, the NRA is now contributing to campaigns through its affiliate, the Institute of Legislative Affairs. Richardson, a board member of the NRA, formed the GOA before the NRA's involvement in "legislative affairs."

"Until GOA, there has never been an organization formed in the United States that has ever specifically been hunter or sportsman oriented, that's been politically activist in the sense that they go after candidates and support them," claims Richardson. "So with the tremendous advent of all this anti-gun legislation, quite a number of sportsmen around the United States and myself put together GOA and GOC for the purpose of raising funds to provide management and support to candidates that are pro-gun oriented, no matter what their party might be."

Nothing but money

It was inevitable that the formation of the GOA precipitated an avalanche of contributions. In a country with 300 million firearms and 700,000 hunters, Richardson has



The author, a former Capitol reporter, is a free-lance writer in Sacramento.

tapped a wellspring of money and support. As he points out: "Not only is the hunter volatile but there are so many of him." Active and retired law enforcement officers, gun club members and the conservative rank and file are among the contributors to GOA.

Operating out of a small wood-frame office across the street from a National Guard armory in Sacramento's commercial district, the GOA and GOC receive an average of 2,000 donations a day, according to Richardson. Thirty per cent of the contributions come from California. Most of the money has been raised through a direct-mail campaign run in Falls Church, Virginia, by Richard Viguerie, the chief fundraiser for Democratic presidential candidate George Wallace. Names for the mailing lists are obtained from such magazines as *Shooting Time* and *Field and Stream*.

The GOC recently mailed out solicitations claiming voters are faced with "the most powerful threat ever posed to the safety of our families and our constitutional right to private ownership of firearms . . ." The Legislature is described as "literally flooded with proposed laws that are aimed at total confiscation of firearms from law-abiding citizens . . . Even if you don't own firearms, you cannot allow radical politicians to destroy our Constitution and unleash what could well be the most terrifying crime wave in modern history."

With such verbiage, Richardson, a former member of the John Birch Society, introduced to the Legislature an ill-fated constitutional amendment which would have blocked future efforts to toughen gun-control laws. He is comforted by the success of his GOA solicitation and his hopes of jam-packing pro-gun candidates into legislative offices across the country.

Patron Medici-style

Richardson rejects the suggestion that he would be the patron of the California Legislature, surrounded by sychophants. "I don't ask commitments of people. I don't come up and say, 'I want you to vote like me and cross my t's and dot my i's,' because I'm no depository of all knowledge and I resent the fact that any man thinks he might possibly be."

But the fact remains that Richardson's GOA soon may be the "depository" of the largest kitty to fund fellow Republicans' state campaigns. Is this power abhorrent to Richardson? "I want to help guys get elected who are

Constitution-oriented, specifically on the Second Amendment," claims Richardson who insists he harbors no aspirations for higher political office. At one time, however, he did. Richardson got stomped two years ago in his bid for the U.S. Senate against Alan Cranston. He claims he never expected to win. Richardson remembers the defeat benignly, "I had a lot of fun," and philosophically, "Too many people in politics equate their elevation to different offices with the improvement of the nation's well-being. I lost that."

Today you might say that Richardson equates the election of pro-gun candidates with the betterment of society. When Richardson speaks of GOA's involvement in elections outside of California he is hardly demure. "We have put one or two scalps on our belt." At this writing the GOC has contributed over \$28,000 to 16 candidates for the state Legislature. These include Republican state Senate candidate Bob Whitten, a former newscaster from Sacramento; congressional candidate Robert Badham of Newport Beach, and two candidates, one Republican and one Democrat, running for the First Assembly District soon to be vacated by Pauline Davis — primary winner Stan Statham and loser Warren Sawyer. The GOA had contributed \$5,000 to the U.S. Senate candidacy of former Republican Lieutenant Governor John Harmer in the primary.

Richardson equals power

Whether Richardson wants power or not, and no matter that he abhors it, he's got it. And so long as the GOA has backing, his position on gun control is not likely to change. Richardson claims he would consider handgun control if and only if punitive measures and longer sentences were enacted, and handgun-related crime was still high.

"I am absolutely convinced that if there is a loss of weapons in California there will be an expansion of crime, not a contraction of it, unless there is sizable work done to stop the criminal element. But I doubt punitive control will ever come into existence," adds Richardson. Most likely such doubts are harbored in his strongly held and literally interpreted belief in the Second Amendment. "How can we talk about disarming the public when most gun owners do not abuse the law? I think it flies against all logic." And so do GOA supporters.

(The constitutional claims of pro-gun enthusiasts are based on the Second Amendment to the United States Constitution entitled "Right to Bear Arms." It reads: A well-regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed." Anti-gun lawyers maintain that this section refers primarily to the right of states to operate militia forces, while pro-gun attorneys claim it means that there shall be no prohibition on the rights of a law-abiding individual to maintain firearms.)

Claims to the right to bear arms are followed by demands for stricter law enforcement. "We think the gun issue is interrelated with the crime problem that we have in the United States, so we're looking for strong law enforcement-oriented candidates," claims Richardson. Here again Richardson is fanning a sentiment that will rouse his supporters off their pocketbooks.

His search for law-and-order candidates may well spawn another fundraising committee, says Richardson, who prefers not to go into detail about such a possibility. "I've learned never to talk about something unless it's off the ground because politics is always talking about things that are not. It's a lot of blue sky. GOA is not blue sky. GOA is alive and well."



FIRST STEP TO EUTHANASIA?

Giving the 'right to die' to California's terminally ill

By LEAH CARTABRUNO

Most bills in the state Legislature subtly affect our lives, but this session there is a bill which directly affects our death. The "Natural Death Act," according to author Assemblyman Barry Keene, is attempting to give the terminally ill the right to determine what kind of health care, if any, they want. If the act is passed and signed, it will be the first law of its kind in the nation.

The bill is a response to the Karen Anne Quinlan case in New Jersey. In an unusually hushed and serious Assembly floor debate, Keene acknowledged this: "The image of Karen Quinlan haunts our dreams. For many, the ultimate horror is not death, but the possibility of being maintained in limbo in a sterile room, by machines that are controlled by strangers."

Comatose since April 1975, Quinlan was kept alive on a respirator for 13 months. After a long court battle, Quinlan's parents won the right to remove the device and let her die a natural death. The machine was unplugged, but Quinlan didn't die.

Protection for the doctor

Under AB3060's provisions, a competent adult could write a legally binding directive authorizing the attending physician to withhold or withdraw life-sustaining mechanisms which serve no purpose except to extend artificially the terminally ill patient's life. The written directive often is referred to as a "living will." Originated by Chicago attorney Luis Kutner in 1950, the living will can be ignored without such a state law to enforce it. The physician is protected from civil liability or criminal responsibility if the written directive is followed.

Although the bill now has no organized opposition, the California Pro-Life Council and the California Conference of Catholic Health Facilities (CCCHF) had severe reservations until certain amendments were made. Both groups' objections were based on the possible acceptance of mercy killing (euthanasia). These groups saw AB3060 as the first step toward euthanasia; Keene views it as a step away from it.

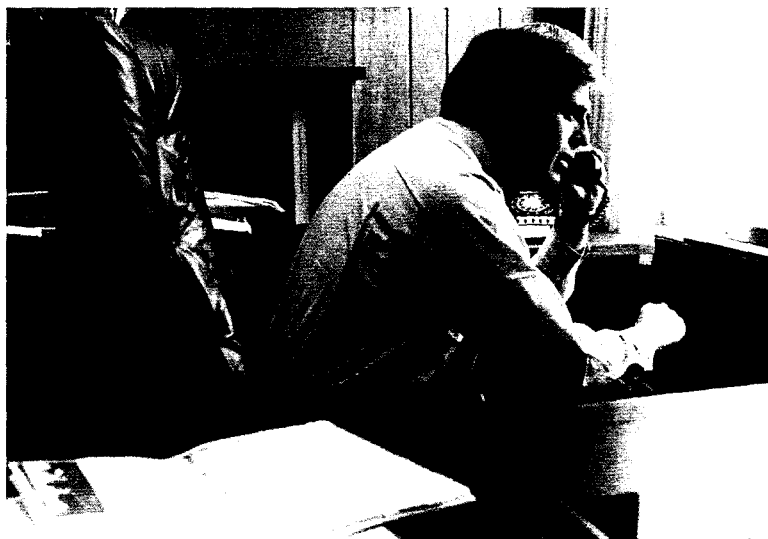
In testimony, CCCHF's position was articulated in a passage from Richmond, Virginia, Bishop Walter F. Sullivan: "... Legislation supposedly designed to protect rights ... can move very quickly from voluntary discontinuing of life to involuntary and direct taking of life. ... As we have seen with the abortion issue, law affects public attitude and behavior. ... A consideration of possible consequences and developments, no matter how intended, is not irrelevant in the field of legislation. ... The proposed legislation eventually raises the question of the direct taking of human life."

The California Pro-Life Council is in basic agreement

with that statement. Donald Rosenberg, legislative co-chairman of the organization, feels that euthanasia may not have been Keene's intention, but it is the clear intention of many of the bill's backers. Pro-Lifers consider euthanasia and abortion abusive of the value of human life. (Among the bill's backers are the California Medical Association, senior citizens' groups and a number of churches.)

What is terminal?

Both the Pro-Life Council and the CCCHF felt the living will could be honored without the enactment of a law. With legal provisions, physicians could refuse to disconnect any patient who doesn't sign a directive. They claimed the proposed law may crimp the range of a physician's medical activity. In addition, they argued the



Barry Keene

definitions of "life-sustaining procedures" and "terminal condition" could be manipulated, first pushing doctors into taking patients' lives and, ultimately, end with selective genocide of the unfit. There is also the possibility of human error in determining what is terminal.

Keene countered these arguments by saying this law would put more control, not less, in the hands of the individual. He said the current situation more accurately resembles euthanasia. Now, he said, "the decision whether to withdraw life-support systems may well be a product of hospital policy, a physician's personal ethics, the guilt of caring or uncaring relatives, a nurse's perception of what

The natural-death 'living will'

DIRECTIVE TO PHYSICIANS

Directive made this 2nd day of July 1976.

I Joanna P. Wilder, being of sound mind, and voluntarily wishing to make known my desire that my life shall not be artificially and unnecessarily prolonged under the circumstances set forth below, do hereby declare:

1. If at any time I should have an incurable injury, disease, or illness certified to be a terminal condition by two physicians, and where the application of life-sustaining procedures would serve only to artificially and unnecessarily prolong the moment of my death and where my physician determines that my death is imminent whether or not life-sustaining procedures are utilized, I direct that such procedures be withheld or withdrawn, and that I be permitted to die naturally.

2. In the absence of my ability to give directions regarding the use of such life-sustaining procedures, it is my intention that this directive shall be honored by my family and physician(s) as the final expression of my legal right to refuse medical or surgical treatment and accept the consequences from such refusal.

3. This directive shall have no force or effect if I have been diagnosed as pregnant and that diagnosis is known to my physician.

4. I have been diagnosed at least 14 days ago as having a terminal condition by Michael P. Chandler, M.D., whose address is 723 N. Green Street, Sacramento, Ca., and whose telephone number is 747-0800. I understand that if I have not filled in the physician's name and address, it shall be presumed that I did not have a terminal condition when I made out this directive.

5. This directive shall have no force or effect five years from the date filled in above.

Signed

Joanna P. Wilder

City, County and State of Residence
Sacramento, Sacramento, Ca.

The declarant has been personally known to me and I believe her (him) to be of sound mind.

Witness

Eugene Castle

Witness

Tris J. Keene

should be done, who is paying for the care, or the religious views of an attending clergyman... anything but the wishes of the dying person."

The possibility of human error would be balanced by having two doctors, one the attending physician who has primary responsibility for the patient, personally examine and certify in writing that the patient is terminally afflicted. (There is no disqualification for a physician who performs organ transplants.) Other supporters feel the bill would insure that religious prerogatives of such groups as the Jehovah's Witnesses and Christian Scientists would be honored.

The Pro-Life Council and CCCHF's objections were satisfied by tightening the definitions of "life-sustaining procedures" and "terminal condition," declaring a directive would be void if the patient were known to be pregnant (categorizing pregnant women with mental incompetents and minors as those not eligible to effectuate a legally binding directive), and by not fully binding a physician to a living will if the directive was not signed or refreshed after the patient was declared terminally ill.

Statement of intent

The latter provision was a result of a debate on what constitutes informed consent. One group argued that a directive written before terminal illness does not accurately reflect the thinking of a person when faced with dying. The other side questioned whether a terminally ill patient is able to retain perspective and is capable of giving informed consent.

The statement of intent, found at the start of every major piece of legislation, was also changed to reflect some of the euthanasia fears. A section was inserted to assure that the bill is not to be construed as condoning or encouraging mercy killing, or permitting any act other than the one specified in the bill to allow a natural process of death.

The legislation spells out a written and an oral revocation process. In addition, the directive must be in a specific form and must be renewed every five years. There is a 14-day wait before a directive may be acted upon. The bill does not allow a death which follows the withholding or withdrawal of life-sustaining devices to be considered suicide or to interfere with life- or health-insurance policies.

There are penalties against abuses. It is a misdemeanor if someone conceals, cancels, obliterates or damages a directive without the patient's consent. It is considered "unlawful homicide" if a person illegally falsifies or forges a directive, or if a revocation is concealed or withheld.

Drawing the line

Is the Legislature playing God? Has technology made a natural death nearly impossible? Is a law needed to protect people's rights? Is the right to a natural death a legal question, a moral question, or both? The Assembly floor debate before the bill passed to the state Senate on a mixed Republican-Democrat, liberal-conservative 47-27 vote illustrated the conflicting feelings rampant in the officials' minds.

Assemblyman Vincent Thomas' floor speech expressed one point of view. "God created us and God should make the decision (about when we die)," Thomas said. Someday, there will be a bill to "get rid of all the people in Pacific State Hospital," (a state mental hospital), he continued. "I don't think I want the responsibility to determine when a person should die. I don't think I would have the courage to make that decision even if my wife made her views known in a written letter. I ask you whether you would pull the plug on one of your relatives."

Assemblyman Keene answered that it is exactly because relatives find themselves unable to keep commitments made to loved ones to let them die a natural death that this type of legislation is necessary.

The lone physician in the Legislature, Assemblyman Robert McLennan, urged an aye vote saying, "With the inventions available nowadays, there has to be some kind of line drawn when we are forcing a person to live beyond their normal life expectancy." Where the line is drawn and who may draw it will be continuing questions in this highly technological society.

METAMORPHOSIS OF A UNION TOWN

How labor lost the San Francisco strike

By DARYL LEMBKE

Day after day, the chieftans of San Francisco Labor huddled in a room at the adequate but unprepossessing Towne House Hotel on Market Street. It may not have been a last stand for the tribal leaders, who actually looked and talked much more like small town lodge officers than warriors. But putting it in the best light possible for them, they lost a battle if not a war when a relatively anemic 39-day city employee strike ended in San Francisco with more of a whimper than a bang at 1:40 a.m. May 7th.

Members of public-employee unions throughout the state and even the nation will probably have to pay the price for that setback. They will pay in the form of stiffening resistance against their future demands for increases in wages and fringe benefits.

"It's a misconstruction of the case in San Francisco, but most people elsewhere will look at it as management hanging tough and appearing to win the fight," said Mayor George Moscone. "I feel the result is going to have an impact throughout the country. I had a visit from Illinois Governor Dan Walker. He commented that the unions had obviously encountered tough going and that management appeared to have won. And I got a call from the mayor of Wichita Falls, Texas, during the strike. He told me to hang in there. He said all Texas was looking at us." Moscone is somewhat chagrined at this anti-union rooting section for his administration. He insisted that the situation which caused the strike was unique and wouldn't apply elsewhere.

Board touches off strike

The walkout was touched off by the Board of Supervisors action in rolling back crafts pay and benefits. This was mandated, the board claimed, by the 2-to-1 passage of Proposition B at the polls last November. That measure eliminated a crafts formula which annually had given unusually high benefits to city building-trades employees. Though this exact situation doesn't prevail elsewhere, the mayor said the country will probably regard the strike outcome as a voter rebellion against public employee unions.

Robert Mendelsohn, a member of the board of supervisors, also views the results as setting a pattern. "It certainly will strengthen the resolve of public entities throughout the country," he said. "What they see is that people went out for an extended strike and got no dollars as a result. The only reason you go on strike is for dollars. But the situation was unusual here because of the disparity between crafts pay (ranging up to annual package ben-

efits of \$25,000 for a plumber) and other city employees.

"There was a necessity for bringing a small group of employees who were far ahead of the rest into some sort of parity. In this instance, because they were so far out of whack, it required these cuts (up to \$4,000 a year). The principle established, though, was not one of cutting people's pay. It was one of holding the line against unreasonable demands."

Labor insisted that the whole business of expecting working people, skilled tradesmen or not, to pay for generosity of the past and accept pay cuts in these days of inflation was an unfair exercise in trying to turn back the clock. Merits aside, however, the process by which the city's governing body lowered the boom on labor was as hard to follow as Balkan politics and about as dramatic as watching concrete harden.

Basking in the media

While the labor leaders were meeting at the Towne House, basking under the glare of television lights and fuzzily fielding questions from frustrated reporters whenever they went to the coffee shop, a similar minuet



The author, a frequent Journal contributor, is chief of the San Francisco bureau of the Los Angeles Times.

was in progress four blocks away. The 11 members of the City and County of San Francisco Board of Supervisors (California's only dual city-county government) were caucusing just as endlessly in a locked hearing room on the second floor of the ornate and classically-beautiful City Hall. They, too, had little new to say when they emerged from two, three and even four-hour caucuses. The communication between them and the unions seemed as sporadic as if they were on different planets.

What were the union leaders doing in their lengthy private meetings? The revelation is not too pulse-pounding. Apparently they were mostly just sitting and chatting, waiting, and complaining about what a poor job the reporters, camped in the hotel corridor outside, were doing in telling the labor side of the strike.

John F. Crowley, 52, the chunky secretary-treasurer of the San Francisco Labor Council and participant in negotiations to end the strike, said the unions did send 15 or 16 proposals to the supervisors. ("They were all variations of no cuts," scoffed one supervisor.) "Most of the time, though, we were just sitting there at the Towne House, waiting for the board of supervisors to make up its mind about what kind of press conference it would have and how it was going to look to the press," said Crowley.

Management's rendition

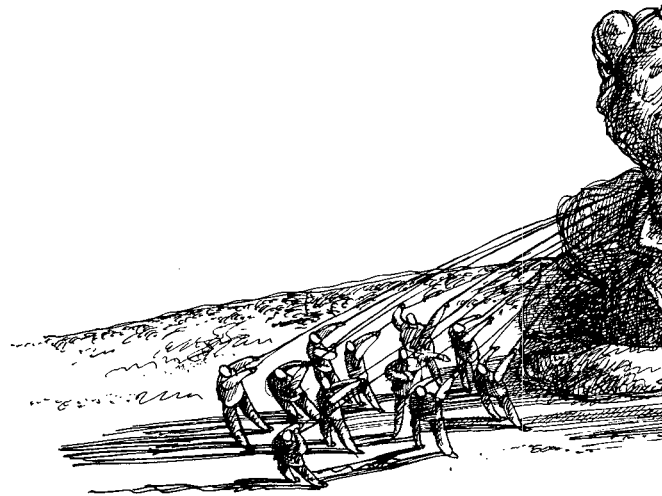
And the board's version of its own private sessions? "There was a strong desire to try to find a consensus, even among 11 people with 11 different feelings about this very difficult situation," said Supervisor Mendelsohn. "If one or two of us felt strongly opposed to a particular course of action, the rest of us would stop and try to include the other person, to meet his or her concerns. It was an interesting process, kind of like a train moving along, and if someone jumped off the train, you stopped it and tried to pull them back on."

Mendelsohn said there were some split votes on what response to make to the unions but that what took so much time in the caucuses was the attempt to reach a consensus. When it was all over, the supervisors had held together better than the unions. Bolstering that unity on the board was the members' confidence that they were dealing from strength that had been demonstrated at the polls last November.

Labor leader Crowley, who worked his way up from the embalmers' union until he became a head of the labor council four years ago, is not willing to concede that the unions took a big defeat. (There were 17 striking unions, representing 1,770 strikers out of about 22,000 city employees.) But another union source, emboldened by a guarantee of anonymity, sarcastically summed up the strike outcome this way: "I don't regard it as a forward step for unions."

This source also attacked the supervisors, six of whom won re-election easily last fall against a union-backed slate, as abusive of the principle of collective bargaining. He said the supervisors precluded any real bargaining by adopting a salary ordinance just before the strike began and then instructing their negotiator, Patrick Mahler, that he could bargain only on "non-economic" issues. The union man claimed the board erected an insurmountable barrier by taking this step (the supervisors insisted they were just following a pay ordinance timetable set forth in the city charter) and by passing a "gag" ordinance. This ordinance prohibited board members or the mayor from meeting with the unions except if their negotiator was present.

Reminded that private companies customarily hire professional negotiators to handle their bargaining, this



source replied: "Yes, but such negotiators usually have power of attorney to conclude a deal. Mahler was never given such authority." This was denied by the supervisors. "The unions wanted face-to-face meetings with the board so they could play one supervisor against another, as they had in past years," said Supervisor John Molinari.

What was accomplished by the strike, which inconvenienced the public principally because 1,800 drivers respected the picket lines and idled the Municipal Railway? The settlement set up a factfinding committee consisting of five supervisors, five labor representatives and Mayor Moscone. This committee held meetings and made recommendations to the entire board before July 1 on wages, hours and other working conditions for the crafts union members who struck.

Other than the factfinding committee, all that the strikers got out of missing five weeks of pay was the supervisors' withdrawal from the June 8 ballot of two measures which were unfavorable to labor. One would have required the firing, after a hearing, of any city employee who strikes. The other would have frozen for one year the crafts pay cuts which precipitated the strike and would have provided for restoring them only fractionally in the 1977-78 and 1978-79 fiscal years.

What labor won

Withdrawal of those two propositions, placed on the ballot by a wrathful board after the strike began, thus constituted a gain for the unions only in negative terms. They got rid of sure-to-pass anti-labor measures which hadn't even been proposed when the strike began. Appointment of the factfinding committee also placed the unions in the position of being elated about as much as a fellow who steps outside to fight and gets one black eye instead of two.

It is hard to see how the unions could muster the energy or the motivation to mount another walkout soon, when the last one turned out so badly. They had in effect gone to war without guns. They found themselves in the embarrassing position of threatening to call a general strike, of the kind that paralyzed the city in 1934, and of being unable to back it up with action.

From the start, the 9,000 city employees in the Service Employees International Union ignored the picket lines and went to their jobs. There were several reasons. For one, they had already reached agreement in March to receive raises, rather than cutbacks. For another, their pay and fringe benefits were far below those of the crafts, causing resentment toward the strikers. Thirdly, about half the SEIU members are black. They had little inclination to help building-trades unions that have been resistant to admitting minorities into their ranks.

Repeatedly, the strikers intimated that they would expand the walkout to shut down the airport, the docks, the



A-C Transit system serving the East Bay or the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) trains. It was all talk. Nothing happened.

What occurred, for example, in the attempt to close the airport? "We couldn't get the San Mateo people (San Francisco International Airport is located in San Mateo County.) to support us," said Crowley. "The machinists said they wouldn't go out unless the culinary workers go, and the culinary workers said they wouldn't go unless the machinists did."

Why didn't International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union president Harry Bridges, a frequent consultant on the strike, shut down the docks? "What have we got, three docks?" questioned Crowley.

Obviously, the unions were bluffing. They had no real muscle, and scattered vandalism such as the sabotage of traffic signals and breaking of water mains only served to further antagonize the public. The public relations of labor are generally about as polished as the CIA's. Convinced that the vendettas carried on by press barons in the past against organized labor still prevail, the often aging, pot-bellied union leaders believe in playing their hands close to the vest. That attitude gets them zero in the press. Management, already at an advantage because of its command of skilled PR departments, wins any contest of words by default.

In the San Francisco strike, the union public relations were almost non-existent. Crowley, whose council represents most but not all of the striking unions, did his best to answer press inquiries but was overwhelmed by the volume. On one occasion, a press conference was called and the participants (the six union negotiations and Crowley) said when it opened that it was all a mistake and that they had nothing to say.

Crowley pointed out in a recent interview that the six negotiators are "very strong people." They were: Joe Mazzone of the plumbers, Stan Jensen of the machinists, Franz Glen of the electricians, Joe O'Sullivan of the carpenters, George Evankovich of the laborers and Stan Smith of the Building Trades Council.

"When you get six people like that in any one room, it's not easy," said Crowley. "We had agreed many times there would be only one spokesman, and that was me, but this was violated from time to time. We don't worry about that. They became incensed at some of the material put out in the paper, so they just exploded."

The detonation often consisted of bawling out reporters and retreating further into secrecy. Even if they are convinced, rightly or wrongly, that the *Chronicle* and the *Examiner* slant the news against them, shouldn't they continue to try to get their case presented in those pages? They are, after all, the only newspapers of any circulation in town.

Crowley insisted that the news media, including the electronic variety, slanted the news against the unions and that "our side was never adequately told." He conceded, however, that there was also dissension in the union leadership ranks on at least one occasion, when one of the six bargaining committee members ordered him out of negotiations. "I took it to my executive board (17 members, representing 135 locals and 150,000 workers) the next morning and they said, 'If you're not directly involved in these negotiations, we'll look at withdrawing sanctions and withdrawing support for the strike.' The guy backed off."

Four days before the strike ended, Evankovich dealt a further blow to solidarity by withdrawing the laborers, representing more than half of the strikers, from the picket lines. The Muni drivers were also pushing to return to work.

While refusing to characterize the settlement as a setback, Crowley conceded that the board's attitude "accentuated the kind of temper that is at large as far as public employees generally are concerned." He said there has been a backing away nationally from collective bargaining with public employees. He also noted a "retrenchment" by legislators in Sacramento against bills authorizing such bargaining.

Crowley is particularly bitter at the direction in which Board of Supervisors president Quentin Kopp has steered since he took the helm six months ago. The union leader said the state AFL-CIO organization will make sure that Kopp will "be noticed as the bum he is." With labor's apparent reduced political clout, however, it is difficult to see how that will hurt Kopp much.

Labor reacts to Moscone

Moscone, a Democrat and longtime friend of labor, also angered the striking unions by working so closely with the supervisors. "He should have stepped in immediately with a much stronger position to resolve the problems we had, regardless of the gag law (prohibiting city officials from negotiating without the board's negotiator present)," groused Crowley. "He says he was inhibited by that. I know that his predecessor (former mayor Joseph L. Alioto) would have said, 'Gag law be damned!'"

Crowley disclosed that in spite of the "gag" ordinance, he and Teamsters leader Jack Goldberger met secretly twice with delegations of supervisors and their negotiator, Mahler, at the Fairmont Hotel, and also separately with Moscone at the Hilton Hotel. He said that at the Moscone meeting, which took place about two weeks before the strike ended, the mayor proposed a settlement that was acceptable to the unions. It called for a return to work while a blue-ribbon committee of prominent private citizens studied and made recommendations on the issue.

"The mayor thought he could sell it to the board of supervisors but we never heard anything from him," said Crowley. The Moscone proposal was, however, very similar to the device used later to end the strike. Supervisor Molinari said he thought Moscone performed well during the strike, notwithstanding barbs hurled at him by Alioto and columnist Herb Caen, who called Moscone "Mayor hands are tied."

"The mayor perceived himself as management," said Molinari. "He had to do it and he did it. He worked with the board, didn't whack us in the press and tried to convince us without being heavy-handed. Toward the end, we were bringing him into our caucuses, which is unheard of. George has to get legislation passed during the next three and a half years of his term. He can't alienate the board now."

Intriguing Senate race

More women in the Legislature

Continued Democratic majorities

By ED SALZMAN

The Republican nomination of semanticist S. I. Hayakawa to oppose John Tunney in November provides California with one of the most intriguing United States Senate races in state history. The ease with which Hayakawa and Tunney won over their opponents provided one of the few surprises of the June 8th primary. As expected, Jerry Brown and Ronald Reagan were the state's presidential preferences. The Nuclear Power Plants initiative went down to defeat. The only incumbent to be unseated was Congressman Andrew Hinshaw, who showed great chutzpah running for reelection after being convicted of bribery. Women ran strong in legislative primary contests, and one of them, Maxine Waters, handed the organization of Lieutenant Governor Mervyn Dymally its first major defeat in south central Los Angeles.

Although Hayakawa consistently finished first or tied for first in Mervin Field's California Poll, most GOP leaders thought that former Lieutenant Governor Robert Finch would win the nomination. Some thought Congressman Alphonzo Bell might buy the primary with his anti-Finch media blitz financed from his own fortune. Look at the uniqueness of the Hayakawa-Tunney situation: We have an academician who will be 70 on July 18th running as the anti-Establishment candidate while the 42-year-old incumbent is placed in the position of defending Washington.

Tunney and the left

The big problem for Tunney is winning most of the 1.2 million Democratic votes cast for Tom Hayden in the primary. Are the Hayden supporters irate enough at Tunney to support the man who more than any other is the symbol of student repression in the '60s? Tunney has a weak constituency in California, partly because he has offended liberals by turning his back on national health insurance and by advocating deregulation of natural gas prices. Hayakawa obviously has a broad constituency, but based almost exclusively on the one event that made him a folk hero — his jump onto a sound truck during a San Francisco State student demonstration and unplugging the wires. He carries the tam o'shanter he wore that day around with him on campaign appearances.

Hayakawa and Tunney won their nominations by large margins, but still their totals represented only a small percentage of the 15 million Californians eligible to vote. The registration total for the primary was 8.7 million, down more than a million from the non-presidential year of

1974. The turnout was about 6 million, and when the final figures are in, they should show that about 70 percent of the registrants went to the polls. That compares with 71 percent in 1972 and 54 percent in Watergate-influenced 1974.

About 5.7 million Californians cast votes for president, but the citizenry was even more aroused by Proposition 15 (the nuclear initiative), which drew 5.9 million votes. Then came the Senate race with 5.6 million, followed by a couple of propositions. Usually, dropoff is fairly consistent as voters move down the list of ballot measures. This year, there was a significant exception. Proposition 1, the school bond plan, drew 5.5 million votes. There followed a dropoff until the voters reached Proposition 9, the local-option bingo proposal. Bingo, the total went back up to 5.5 million. That should show the politicians what the public thinks is important.

Carter v. Ford

Looking ahead to November, Californians may have to select between candidates who lost the state's primary, Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford — although Ronald Reagan could go to the Republican convention in Kansas City with an even shot at the nomination. The relative popularity of Carter and Ford would be difficult to assess from the primary returns because they were both tackling home-state candidates. Should Reagan win the GOP nomination, there would be no guarantee that he could whip Carter in November. Reagan would find it difficult to chip away conservative Democrats as he did in the past when running for governor against liberals.

Pollster Field says he has no idea how Hayakawa and Tunney will stack up in the first test of summer because Hayakawa is such a unique candidate. In Congressional and legislative races, relatively few incumbents appear endangered and there will probably be few overall GOP inroads into Democratic majorities. The Republicans claim they will eliminate the two-thirds advantage the Democrats hold in the Assembly, and Democrats are shooting for two-thirds control of the Senate.

Women appear on the threshold of making a breakthrough in California. There are now two women in the Congressional delegation and three in the Assembly. In November, there is a chance that there will be a woman elected to the Senate for the first time, and there should be at least six women elected to the Assembly, and perhaps as many as 10.

PRESIDENTIAL DELEGATES

The primary election offers no clues as to how Californians will vote in November, presumably in the contest between Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford. Both of the probable nominees did poorly in California against the home-state candidates, Ronald Reagan and Jerry Brown.

Brown carried every county while Carter showed strength only in the farm areas. Was that because Carter is a peanut farmer, or was it because agricultural interests are upset with Brown because of the controversy over the Agricultural Labor Relations Board? In any event, Carter's showing indicates he might do especially well in the Central Valley, where Democratic loyalty is usually weakest. Brown's surprising strength, especially in the liberal San Francisco Bay Area, belies the theory that the Governor severely damaged his popularity by entering the presidential political arena. He will emerge from this year's elections in excellent shape to drive for reelection in 1978.

Reagan's strength was not nearly as universal as Brown's even though the former governor piled up a larger percentage of the vote. Ford carried two counties, Marin and San Francisco, by slim margins. Reagan ran especially strong in conservative areas, indicating the GOP electorate saw a marked difference in philosophy between the two candidates.

Under the Republican winner-take-all system, Ronald Reagan captured all of the state's 167 delegates to the Kansas City convention. As it happened, the national media analysts were more interested in the New Jersey and Ohio contests on June 8th, and the resulting consensus was that Ford would probably be the nominee despite Reagan's sweep of the largest block of delegates. But Reagan showed surprising strength in non-primary states and threatened to go to Kansas City on even terms with the President.

The Democratic delegates were divided under a complex proportional representation system. Technically, the voters directly chose only 210 of the state's 280 delegates. The rest were to be apportioned in accordance with statewide strength at a mini-convention of the delegates chosen on a congressional-district basis. But no candidate could get a district delegate without getting at least 10 percent of that district's vote, and no candidate could claim a portion of the 70 at-large delegates without getting 10 percent of the vote statewide.

Frank Church, with seven percent of the vote, received only seven delegates. Morris Udall won five percent of the vote but only two delegates. On the other hand, the new law amounted to winner-take-almost-all for Jerry Brown, who took 204 of the 280 delegates. Carter won 67.

This gives Brown clear control of the delegation at the New York convention this month, but how much will control be worth unless Carter pulls an Adlai Stevenson and opens the vice-presidential nomination to the convention? Brown proved his appeal in California and in the other primary states in which he was able to compete with his late entry. He will always wonder whether he could have defeated Carter had he been in the field earlier. But that was too risky. He might have been lost in the pack and his appeal back home in California might have been critically damaged.

DEMOCRAT:

Morris Udall	169,071	5%
Jimmy Carter	690,171	21%
Frank Church	248,416	7%
George Wallace	102,046	3%
Henry Jackson	38,435	1%
Ellen McCormack	28,934	1%
Fred Harris	16,885	1%
Edmund G. Brown Jr.	1,991,297	59%
Birch Bayh	11,239	0.3%
Uncommitted delegation	77,238	2%

REPUBLICAN:

Ronald Reagan	1,535,995	66%
Gerald Ford	800,126	34%

AMERICAN INDEPENDENT PARTY:

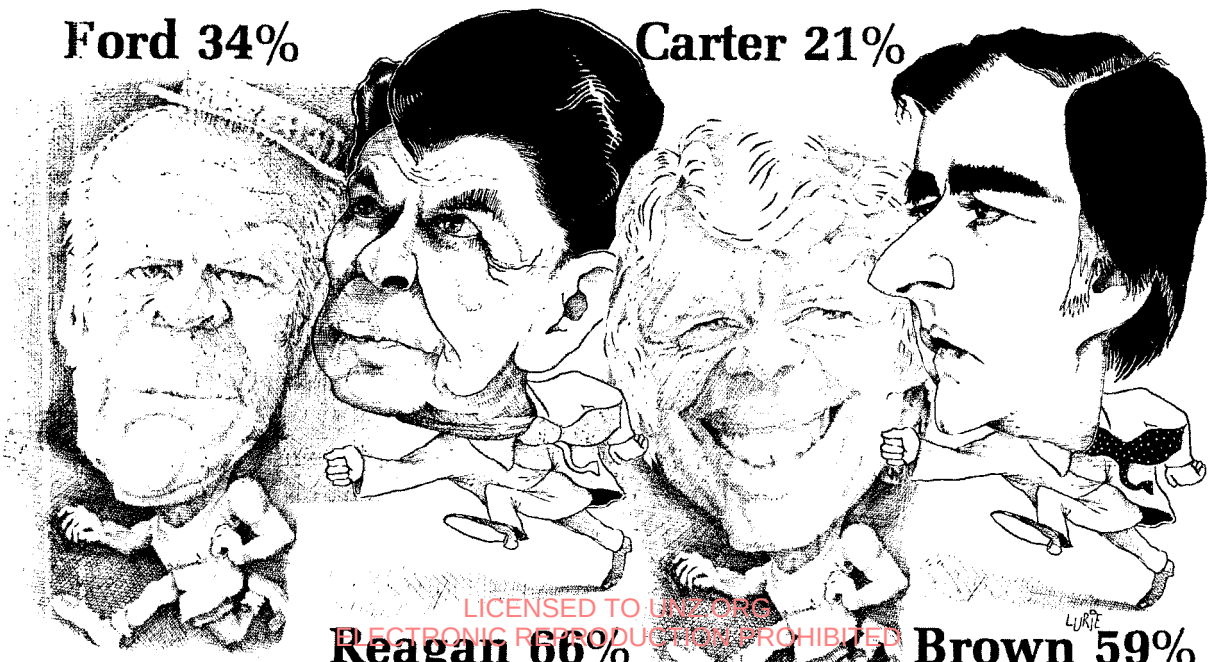
John Rarick	2,786	24%
Thomas Goodloe Jr.	1,507	13%
Andrew Watson	2,396	20%
Alberta Procell	1,806	15%
George Shea	3,358	28%

PEACE AND FREEDOM:

Frank Zeidler	1,483	25%
Margaret Wright	4,344	75%

Ford 34%

Carter 21%



Reagan 66%

Brown 59%

UNITED STATES SENATOR

On the surface, it might appear that pollster Mervin Field was far off the mark on both the Republican and Democratic contests for United States Senator. Field's California Poll showed that samplings taken June 3-5 put incumbent John Tunney ahead of challenger Tom Hayden, 48 to 41 percent — a gap of seven points. Tunney actually beat Hayden 54 to 38, a spread of 16 percentage points. On the Republican side, S. I. Hayakawa and former lieutenant governor Robert Finch were tied with 28 percent each in the final poll. But Hayakawa waxed Finch, 38 to 27 — an 11-point gap.

What happened? In the case of Hayden, there isn't much difference between the 38 percent vote Hayden received and the 41 percent he appeared to be winning in the polls. But Tunney apparently took all of the undecided votes and may have even chipped away at Hayden's support by taking the edge in their debate three days before the election. This might be indicated by the fact Tunney's edge was about two percent wider in Los Angeles, where the debate received maximum coverage, than in the state as a whole. If the Los Angeles vote is subtracted, the gap widens to almost four percent. This may explain why Field's figure for Tunney was so low.

The Republican primary was even more complex because there were four major candidates, Congressman Alphonzo Bell and former lieutenant governor John Harmer as well as Hayakawa and Finch. Bell (and most other politicians) figured Finch was the man to beat and concentrated his attack on the former HEW secretary and Nixon associate. Bell dug deeply into his bank accounts to

DEMOCRAT:

John V. Tunney (Inc.)	1,754,096	54%
Frank L. Thomas	53,902	2%
Howard L. Gifford	46,425	1%
Les Craven	28,129	1%
Ronald L. Williams	29,209	1%
Bob Wallach	72,287	2%
Millard F. Slover	28,127	1%
Tom Hayden	1,196,297	37%
Lois Bodle	54,072	2%

REPUBLICAN:

Clyde F. Tracy	17,784	1%
James A. Ware	14,990	1%
Robert H. Finch	605,129	27%
Michael A. Hirt	9,941	
Henry Hill	10,290	1%
John L. Harmer	193,760	9%
S. I. Hayakawa	873,500	38%
Walter Hollywood	28,163	1%
Hannibal C. Burchette V	6,222	
Alphonzo Bell	524,679	23%

AMERICAN INDEPENDENT PARTY:

Jack McCoy	9,928	
PEACE AND FREEDOM:		
David Wald	4,814	

finance a media campaign that brought him into the running.

Field was right on the money for Harmer (8 percent in the final poll compared to a 9 percent vote), Bell (20 percent in the poll, 23 percent of the vote) and Finch (28 percent in the poll, 27 percent of the vote). He was off on Hayakawa who received 28 percent in the final poll and 38 percent at the ballot box. Again, what happened?

The pollster, who called the presidential races and Proposition 15 with remarkable accuracy, thinks Harmer, Bell and Finch had fixed constituencies, while Hayakawa had shallow but broad appeal. This worked to the semanticist's advantage as election day grew near and the 16 percent that had been undecided or for minor candidates had to make choices. Field said his workers picked up major changes on a day-to-day basis the weekend before the election, but the samples were not large enough for him to report these findings to the public.

Hayden threw a mighty scare at Tunney, but the former anti-war revolutionary and husband of actress Jane Fonda failed to make the breakthrough from students and liberals into the ranks of blue-collar workers, minorities and senior citizens. He was able to carry only four counties — Marin, Santa Barbara, Santa Cruz and Yolo. In the last three, the vote from University of California campuses was pivotal. (In the case of Marin, it could be argued, Democrats supported Hayden because he would be an easier target for home-county hero Hayakawa in the general election.)

The problem for Tunney now is solidifying the Democratic ranks for November. That might be difficult because there was a great deal of emotional steam behind Hayden, and Tunney has been in the liberal doghouse since he defeated liberal Congressman George Brown in the senatorial primary of 1970. In fact, Tunney won his Senate seat primarily because Republican George Murphy had the Technicolor-scandal albatross around his political neck.



Tunney has displayed an ability to survive among ordinary politicians — but Samuel Ichiye Hayakawa is a special brand of candidate. He is old, dull, and inexperienced, yet he carries an image from his days as San Francisco State University president that gets him votes without really trying. He spent less than \$200,000 in winning the GOP primary. Imagine what he can do now that he will have all kinds of GOP cash behind him.

In the primary, Hayakawa was able to avoid taking many hard stands on tough issues. He could not be placed on the political spectrum and called himself a "Republican unpredictable." That strategy could make it easier for him to appeal to Democrats in November. (Hayakawa's explanation of the difference between Republicans and Democrats: "Republicans are people who, if you were drowning 50 feet from shore, would throw you a 25-foot rope and tell you to swim the other 25 feet. Democrats would throw you

a 100-foot rope and then walk away looking for other good deeds to do.")

The sound-truck episode gave Hayakawa an image he says he doesn't deserve, one that was produced more by television than by his own courage. "I suddenly had an image of absolute ferocious masculinity, none of which I deserved," he recalled. Two years ago, Hayakawa discovered that this was convertible to votes as he attempted to seek the GOP nomination to run against Democratic Senator Alan Cranston. The courts ruled he hadn't been a Republican long enough, and he had to sit it out.

Two years later, the macho image was still there. The feisty old semanticist has only two major problems — his age and his Republican affiliation. And his biggest asset is the apparent lack of solid Democratic support for Tunney. As Mervin Field observed, the Hayakawa-Tunney race should be "intriguing as hell."

For Hayden, only the beginning

By JOHN MINTZ

Tom Hayden told a Los Angeles auditorium packed with rowdy campaign supporters late last June 8th that losing in the Senatorial primary didn't mean he would give up on electoral politics. "I myself am willing and able to run again when the opportunity presents itself," he said. "For all of us, it's only the beginning." Hayden said he'd spend the summer travelling around the state, "by automobile and camper," thanking supporters and discussing the future.

Losing the election, Hayden declared throughout the campaign, would not discourage him more than had past defeats, like demonstrating against an escalating war and being jailed for inciting to riot. Running for U.S. Senate in itself was "not a sharp break from the past" for him, Hayden said. "I see the campaign as an extension of the long process of struggle that I've been involved in for a decade."

Almost all of Hayden's New Left friends I interviewed saw his entrance into electoral politics as consistent with his past. For one thing, they said, campaigning allowed him to be quoted and admired as he had been when he was a movement superstar in the late 1960's.

They also said Hayden, during his New Left days, had been flexible tactically. "While maintaining a basic commitment to the left, he looks for where people are in motion, then throws himself into these kinds of struggles, trying to provide leadership," said a former

member with Hayden in the Red Family, a revolutionary Berkeley commune in 1970-71. "And now, post-Watergate, post-Vietnam, his goal seems to be to use the electoral process to organize people."

"I am running for office not so much because I have changed, but because times have changed," Hayden said in his platform. We should take him on his word. Candidate Hayden is more similar to Hayden the radical ideologue than some believe.

Hayden hinted vaguely in speeches, statements and interviews (especially with the student and left press) that he saw his Senate campaign as the best tactic, right now, for fighting "the system" and for preparing Americans, step by step, for socialism. (He avoided using this word, preferring "economic democracy.") "I'm talking about a 25-year program against corporate control of the economy," he told staffers of the Berkeley campus paper.

"Let the bankers prove to the public they are a failure," Hayden told a socialist reporter for the newspaper who asked why Hayden wasn't for nationalizing the banks. "And let the public outcry start to build. Start with proposals that are more reasonable . . . You have to raise fundamental questions and let the people see whether they can be answered within the present framework."

Although most of Hayden's positions were within the limits of liberal Democratic dogma — Proposition

15, the Humphrey-Hawkins employment bill, the Kennedy-Corman health bill — others were way out of bounds. His proposals, for instance, to nationalize the railroads and to put consumers on corporate boards of directors could best be seen as "trial balloons" in his mission to influence Americans to the left.

Did Hayden hold anything back from the voters? On one issue he had to: Israel. Hayden said he did not recall having made any statements on the Mideast during his New Left phase. In that case, by not disputing the stand on Israel held by groups he was close to, like the Black Panthers, Hayden at least silently tolerated that stand. Israel was seen as oppressor of the Palestinians and, like Vietnam, a U.S. puppet. It would have been news on the left then if Hayden had disagreed. In his campaign, though, Hayden said he strongly supported Israel. In the home-stretch television debate, Tunney mentioned a 1968 Esquire profile that said Hayden supported the Palestinian commandos. Hayden responded awkwardly that the article had distorted his position and that, "I haven't changed my mind on Israel." Tunney dominated those closing moments of the debate, only three days before the primary, when last impressions were left.

Tom Hayden said he and his friends will be back. As one veteran antiwar organizer on Hayden's campaign staff said on election night: "You know what it feels like to organize an antiwar demonstration for six months and get 300,000 to come out, and the next day you read in the paper there were 200 bombing raids over Indochina the day before? I feel much better now than I did then."

The author wrote his master's degree thesis on the Hayden campaign as a student in journalism at the University of California, Berkeley.



PROPOSITIONS

The Legislature made it easy for Californians to reject the only initiative on the June 8th ballot, the highly controversial Nuclear Power Plants Initiative which probably would have halted development of nuclear power in California. Proposition 15 was defeated by a 2-1 margin after the Legislature passed three bills sponsored by Assemblyman Charles Warren as a milder alternative. These bills would:

- Require that the Legislature review state Energy Commission findings that the federal government has found acceptable methods of waste disposal and fuel re-processing before new nuclear plants can be built in California.

- Initiate a one-year Energy Commission study, subject to legislative review, on the advisability of locating

plants underground as a means of providing increased protection against accidents.

- Allow existing plants to continue operating at full capacity.

Proposition 15 would have required a two-thirds vote of the Legislature on the safety issues, would have established unlimited liability on utilities for accidents and would have forced gradual reduction in the operation of current nuclear plants if the above two requirements were not met.

Legislative enactment of the three-bill package probably turned a relatively close contest into a rout. The opponents also benefitted from voter confusion over the complex measure, fear of adverse-economic consequences, a considerable advantage in campaign funds, help from most major newspapers and a clever campaign designed to turn Jewish liberals against the measure.

The voters also rejected two school finance measures, Propositions 1 and 4, and this is being interpreted as an indication of an anti-education mood in California. But is that an accurate assessment? The voters displayed great selectivity in going down the proposition list, with the bingo measure (Proposition 9) getting an especially large vote.

The rejection of Proposition 1 may well have been because its net effect was to reduce the margin necessary for voter approval of school construction proposals from two-thirds to a simple majority. Previous state school bond issues did not contain this provision. And the rejection of Proposition 4 may have resulted from a reading of the opposition argument by Assemblyman Dixon Arnett claiming that the state has special fund surplus money that could be used instead of the proposed bonds. At a time when the state also has a whopping general fund surplus, this kind of an argument can be convincing.

Yet, the surplus did not defeat two other bond measures, \$500 million in Cal-Vet bonds (Proposition 2) and \$175 million in drinking-water bonds (Proposition 3). Both these measures passed with 63 percent of the vote.

The selectivity of the voters can be illustrated by the defeat of Proposition 12, which would have lifted the 10 percent interest limit for business borrowing. There was no organized opposition to the proposal, and there was an aggressive advertising campaign conducted on behalf of the proposition by financial institutions. The measure lost by more than 600,000 votes. Could it be because voters read the opposition argument in the ballot pamphlet claiming that the increases would somehow be passed on to consumers? Or did the voters misinterpret the usury measure and erroneously think it meant higher interest rates for consumer loans?

GUIDE TO TABLES

The statistics used in this analysis are from the semi-official canvass conducted by the Secretary of State's office. Names printed in **bold** characters are the winners.

Statistics following each district number are the registration percentages in the Secretary of State's April 15th report of registration.

Abbreviations: Inc. for incumbent, D for Democrat, R for Republican, AIP for American Independent Party, P&F for Peace and Freedom Party, Ind. for Independent.

Note: In some districts where there were no candidates on the June ballot for the Democratic or Republican nomination, individuals qualified for the November ballot through the write-in process.

PROPOSITION 1 (\$200-million state school bond issue)

For	2,603,775	47%
Against	2,904,292	53%

PROPOSITION 2 (\$500-million Cal-Vet bond issue)

For	3,413,205	63%
Against	2,051,211	37%

PROPOSITION 3 (\$175-million drinking-water bond issue)

For	3,399,290	63%
Against	2,025,753	37%

PROPOSITION 4 (\$200-million community-college bond issue)

For	2,359,622	44%
Against	2,997,153	56%

PROPOSITION 5 (majority vote on business tax measures)

For	3,158,682	60%
Against	2,154,429	40%

PROPOSITION 6 (taxation of insurance-company home offices)

Yes	3,592,029	67%
No	1,770,877	33%

PROPOSITION 7 (reduced taxes for historical property)

Yes	2,756,008	54%
No	2,311,683	46%

PROPOSITION 8 (deposit of public funds in Savings and Loans)

Yes	3,894,854	74%
No	1,364,880	26%

PROPOSITION 9 (local-option bingo for charity)

Yes	3,880,513	70%
No	1,643,342	30%

PROPOSITION 10 (refinancing of debt without vote of people)

Yes	2,329,584	45%
No	2,805,446	55%

PROPOSITION 11 (use of surplus transportation land for parks)

Yes	2,785,362	53%
No	2,492,374	47%

PROPOSITION 12 (revision of the usury law)

Yes	2,236,716	44%
No	2,879,528	56%

PROPOSITION 13 (senior-citizen property-tax deferment)

Yes	2,981,627	56%
No	2,355,518	44%

PROPOSITION 14 (streamlining of constitution)

Yes	3,343,795	68%
No	1,602,333	32%

PROPOSITION 15 (limitations on nuclear power plants)

Yes	1,924,304	33%
No	3,986,770	67%

CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION

Democrats hold a 28-15 advantage in the California Congressional delegation, and chances are that those numbers won't change much as a result of the November election. The only incumbent defeated in the June primary was Republican Andrew Hinshaw of Orange County, and he had been convicted of bribery. His place on the ballot will be filled by Assemblyman Robert Badham, who edged former Congressman John Schmitz in a tight race. The general election is meaningless in that district, the most Republican in the state.

The Republicans are hoping to cut the margin by defeating three Southern California Democrats who won rather narrow victories two years ago: Mark Hanniford of Lakewood, Jim Lloyd of West Covina and Jerry Patterson of Buena Park.

But the GOP has some weak spots. Veteran Burt Talcott of Salinas again will face a tough challenge, and Republicans are worried about holding the seat vacated by Alphonzo Bell, who ran for the United States Senate. Republican Bill Ketchum of Bakersfield must again overcome adverse registration statistics, as he has done in the past. Barry Goldwater Jr. will have an experienced and aggressive opponent in Patti Lear Corman, estranged wife of Congressman Jim Corman. But Goldwater's district is normally Republican.

DISTRICT 1 (58%D-36%R)

Johnson (Inc. D) 70,178 (80%)
Steele (I) 18,115 (20%)
Taylor (R) 44,208

The veteran Harold T. (Bizz) Johnson apparently can't leave his seat as long as he wants it. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 2 (57%D-36%R)

Klee (D) 33,380 (35%)
Chote (I) 6,240 (7%)
Hill (D) 21,007 (22%)
Bosco (I) 21,474 (23%)
Brown (I) 12,964 (14%)
Clausen (Inc. R) 43,319
Allred (I & F) 409

This is a rematch of the 1974 election in which the veteran Don Clausen whipped colorful Oscar Klee by 18,000 votes. Clausen should win again. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 3 (62%D-33%R)

Moss (Inc. D) 67,569
Marsh (I) 33,134

John Moss, senior member of the California delegation, has a solid lock on his seat. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 4 (64%D-30%R)

Leggett (Inc. D) 55,494
Taylor (F) 9,853 (31%)

Wegienka (R) 9,512 (30%)

Dehr (R) 12,108 (39%)

Incumbent Robert Leggett ran unopposed two years ago. He'll have to campaign this year but not too hard. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 5 (59%D-31%R)

J. Burton (Inc. D) 61,241

Fanning (R) 35,270

Republican Branwell Fanning will run against the Burton "machine." He'll find the going rough against the younger brother of the Burton team. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 6 (70%D-22%R)

P. Burton (Inc. D) 56,441 (82%)

Bouey (D) 12,141 (18%)

Sanders (R) 3,191 (18%)

Spinosa (R) 14,978 (82%)

Heaps (AIP) 118

Siegel (P&F) 308

Tom Spinosa has run several times in hopeless causes. This is another. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 7 (60%D-35%R)

Miller (Inc. D) 78,753

Vickers (R) 40,360

Stanley (AIP) 235

George Miller has been one of the most visible members of the large class of Congressional freshmen. The publicity won't hurt. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 8 (64%D-29%R)

Dellums (Inc. D) 60,283

Breck (R) 23,431

Evans (P&F) 292

Ron Dellums won by almost 30,000 votes two years ago. The margin should be about the same this time. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 9 (64%D-30%R)

Stark (Inc. D) 32,997

Mills (R) 14,615

Sargis (P&F) 62

Pete Stark should win by better than a 2-1 margin this time. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 10 (65%D-27%R)

Edwards (Inc. D) 37,037

Smith (R) 16,295

Kaiser (AIP) 208

The veteran Don Edwards need do little more than put his name on the ballot to win by an overwhelming margin. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 11 (58%D-36%R)

Ryan (Inc. D) 53,142 (71%)

McGuire (D) 21,944 (29%)

Jones (R) 35,137

Kudrovzeff (AIP) 167

The veteran Leo Ryan won by more than 75,000 votes two years ago. The margin should be cut this time against Belmont Councilman Bob Jones, but Ryan should still win. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 12 (52%D-42%R)

Harris (D) 32,025 (60%)

Shaskey (D) 21,698 (40%)

McCloskey (Inc. R) 47,260

Cooney (AIP) 150

This is the easiest election in some time for

liberal Republican Pete McCloskey. He did not face a conservative challenger in the primary, and now his opponent is David Harris, former Stanford student-body president who went to jail rather than be drafted. Harris is also known as the former husband of singer Joan Baez. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 13 (53%D-40%R)

Mineta (Inc. D) 40,297

Konnyu (R) 30,177 (62%)

Jones (R) 18,296 (38%)

Herrell (AIP) 208

This district normally would be considered marginal, but former San Jose Mayor Norman Mineta is too strong for the Republicans to beat. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 14 (58%D-37%R)

McFall (Inc. D) 52,668 (83%)

Lowry (D) 11,007 (17%)

Blain (R) 30,972

John McFall's biggest political battle is with Phil Burton and Richard Bolling of Missouri for the job of majority leader of the House of Representatives. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 15 (65%D-31%R)

Sisk (Inc. D) 44,468

Harner (R) 16,166

The veteran Bernie Sisk, one of the smoothest politicians in Congress, trounced Carol Harner in 1974 and should do so again. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 16 (55%D-38%R)

Panetta (D) 34,538 (52%)

Morton (D) 12,345 (19%)

Bakalian (D) 19,194 (29%)

Talcott (Inc. R) 51,592

Burt Talcott barely won reelection two years ago, and he may not be so lucky this time against Carmel Valley attorney Leon Panetta. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 17 (59%D-37%R)

Krebs (Inc. D) 43,262

Andreas (R) 31,935

John Krebs took this seat away from Republican Bob Mathias in 1974 and should hold it without much trouble. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 18 (56%D-39%R)

Tafarella (D) 13,818 (25%)

Close (D) 42,695 (75%)

Ketchum (Inc. R) 48,580

Incumbent Bill Ketchum is a whale of a campaigner but the district isn't the healthiest place for a Republican. His opponent, college instructor and attorney Dean Close, showed strength in the primary. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 19 (54%D-38%R)

Sisson (D) 58,034

Lagomarsino (Inc. R) 58,033

The primary figures are misleading. Robert Lagomarsino has been invincible in the Santa Barbara-Ventura area. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 20 (49%D-45%R)

Gilmartin (D) 14,250 (20%)

Corman (D) 32,575 (47%)

Lindsay (D) 22,561 (33%)

Goldwater (Inc. R)73,202

Normally, this would be considered a safe district for Barry Goldwater Jr. However, he has an unusual opponent, Patti Lear Corman, estranged wife of Congressman Jim Corman of an adjoining district and daughter of inventor William Lear. She could give him a hard time. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 21 (63%D-32% R)

Corman (Inc. D)	64,120
Fixler (R)	6,991 (20%)
Fox (R)	7,213 (21%)
Hogan (R)	14,045 (40%)
Dickerson (R)	6,791 (19%)
Hill (P&F)	146

Incumbent Jim Corman has been winning by increasingly large margins in recent years, but he may have been hurt somewhat by the publicity over the split with his wife. (See District 20.). SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 22 (44%D-50%R)

Pak (D)	13,189 (24%)
Sapiro (D)	20,042 (37%)
Salley (D)	20,802 (39%)

Moorhead (Inc. R)71,766

Incumbent Carlos Moorhead has one of the best districts for a Republican in the state. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 23 (64%D-30%R)

Altman (D)	5,010 (5%)
Albertson (D)	21,739 (21%)
Shulman (D)	3,089 (3%)
Horwin (D)	10,129 (10%)
Brown (D)	4,117 (4%)
Beilenson (D)	60,123 (58%)
Gallucci (R)	8,735 (19%)
Wali (R)	3,887 (9%)
Nelson (R)	8,160 (18%)
Bartman (R)	24,680 (54%)

This is the district abandoned by retiring Congressman Tom Rees. State Senator Anthony Beilenson has the seat wrapped up. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 24 (62%D-31%R)

Waxman (Inc. D)	58,956 (81%)
Musun (D)	14,064 (19%)
Karsa (R)	4,858 (14%)
Fogel (R)	11,637 (34%)
Simmons (R)	17,715 (52%)

Incumbent Henry Waxman is one of the best grass-roots political operatives in California. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 25 (71%D-22%R)

Rives (D)	5,797 (14%)
Roybal (Inc. D)	36,049 (86%)
Madrid (R)	11,043
Seals (P&F)	121

Veteran Ed Roybal is an institution in the Chicano area of Los Angeles. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 26 (46%D-49%R)**Rousselot (Inc. R)65,863**

No Democrat decided it was worth the energy to tackle Rousselot in this solidly GOP area. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 27 (49%D-43%R)

Pezzuti (D)	2,232 (3%)
Familian (D)	26,664 (35%)
Soen (D)	1,072 (1%)
Smith (D)	4,201 (6%)
Shaffer (D)	12,460 (16%)
Helgevold (D)	1,373 (2%)

Hickey (D)	7,018 (9%)
Horner (D)	21,276 (28%)
Welbourn (R)	6,737 (10%)
O'Block (R)	5,512 (8%)
Symonds (R)	1,240 (2%)
Blatchford (R)	17,612 (25%)
Dornan (R)	24,566 (35%)
Donaldson (R)	15,559 (22%)

The large field was prompted by the decision of Congressman Alphonzo Bell, a Republican, to run for the United States Senate. This district would normally be considered Republican, but GOP nominee Robert Dornan is a conservative former newscaster. Many of the Republicans in this coastal area of Los Angeles are moderate. This will give the Democratic nominee, businessman Gary Familian, a good shot. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 28 (75%D-20%R)

Burke (Inc. D)	68,389
Skinner (R)	16,366

Representative Yvonne Brathwaite Burke should win by at least 4-1. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 29 (84%D-13%R)

Taylor (D)	3,539 (6%)
Wilson (D)	4,081 (7%)
Price (D)	4,908 (8%)
Hawkins (Inc. D)	46,209 (79%)
Germonprez (R)	6,618

The veteran Gus Hawkins will roll over his Republican opponent in November as he did his Democratic challengers in June. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 30 (71%D-23%R)

Danielson (Inc. D)49,561	
Couch (R)	11,062 (59%)
Condon (R)	7,684 (41%)

This is a cinch for George Danielson. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 31 (74%D-21%R)

Rice (D)	12,236 (22%)
Wilson (Inc. D)	34,521 (62%)
Lankster (D)	8,618 (16%)

The veteran Charles Wilson waltzed through the primary, and the general election never has been a problem for him. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 32 (64%D-30%R)

Anderson (Inc. D)49,924 (86%)	
Landers (D)	8,380 (14%)
Young (R)	21,245

Former lieutenant governor Glenn Anderson has found a home in Congress. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 33 (54%D-41%R)

Snyder (D)	44,355 (70%)
Megdal (D)	10,000 (16%)
Doty (D)	9,322 (15%)
Clawson (Inc. R)	50,349

Democrats always seem to target this seat, long held by Republican Del Clawson, but they don't seem to come close. This time, community college administrator Ted Snyder will take a whack at Clawson. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 34 (54%D-40%R)

Hannaford (Inc. D)65,491	
Jacobson (R)	8,891 (15%)
Bond (R)	22,287 (37%)
Lungren (R)	29,406 (48%)

Mark Hannaford took this seat in 1974 after it had been held by a Republican for many

years. The GOP wants it back, and Long Beach attorney Daniel Lungren is considered a strong candidate. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 35 (53%D-42%R)

Lloyd (Inc. D)	51,221
Brutocao (R)	45,907

This is another Republican target district. Jim Lloyd took this reapportioned district by less than 1,000 votes in 1974. The GOP candidate, former Covina Mayor Louis Brutocao, was hurt by his failure to win reelection to the Covina council. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 36 (61%D-33%R)

Brown (Inc. D)	55,844
Carnar (R)	31,751
Pasley (AIP)	335

Veteran Congressman George Brown Jr. won last time by a huge margin and should repeat. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 37 (49%D-45%R)

Nilson (D)	50,057
Pettis (R)	65,484
Wahl (AIP)	492

Shirley Pettis won this seat by an overwhelming margin in a special election and should hold it without much trouble. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 38 (55%D-38%R)

Patterson (Inc. D)51,615	
Combs (R)	23,270 (52%)
Paynter (R)	21,483 (48%)

Republicans were surprised to lose this seat by 16,000 votes in 1974. This time they will try to beat Jerry Patterson with minister-businessman Jim Combs. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 39 (44%D-49%R)

Boranian (D)	25,284 (43%)
Farris (D)	34,258 (57%)
Wiggins (Inc. R)	73,149

This district is safe for any Republican, and especially so for Charles Wiggins. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 40 (38%D-54%R)

Wilson (D)	13,812 (23%)
Schoonover (D)	5,809 (10%)
Margolis (D)	12,471 (20%)
Hall (D)	29,275 (48%)
Cooper (R)	4,218 (4%)
Clancey (R)	1,904 (2%)
Jeffrey (R)	6,421 (6%)
Schmitz (R)	34,548 (31%)
Mauro (R)	18,660 (17%)
Hinshaw (Inc. R)	7,400 (7%)
Badham (R)	35,695 (32%)
Davenport (R)	2,857 (3%)
Davis (R)	568

The decision by Congressman Andrew Hinshaw to seek reelection despite his bribery conviction made this an unusual race. Hinshaw was never a factor. Assemblyman Robert Badham nosed out former Congressman John G. Schmitz in a battle of conservatives for the Republican nomination, which is tantamount to victory. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 41 (49%D-42%R)

Trento (D)	7,297 (10%)
Roloff (D)	2,979 (4%)
Gastil (D)	12,998 (18%)
Golden (D)	16,007 (22%)
Jones (D)	3,320 (4%)

Finnegan (D) 13,431 (18%)
 Flick (C) 10,180 (14%)
 Desmond (D) 7,962 (11%)
Wilson (Inc. R) 68,258

Eight Democrats entered the primary under the mistaken notion that incumbent Bob Wilson was vulnerable. He won two

years ago by 20,000 votes, and he was weaker then. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 42 (58%D-33%R)

Van Deerlin (Inc. D) 52,532
Marden (R) 28,736
Veteran Lionel Van Deerlin hasn't had a tough race in many years. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 43 (45%D-47%R)

Kelly (D) 46,163 (65%)
Stout (D) 25,046 (35%)
Burgener (Inc. R) 91,469

A Democrat doesn't have a chance in this district, and incumbent Clair Burgener should win by 40,000 votes. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

STATE SENATE

Will this be the first year that a woman is elected to the state Senate? Will the Democrats, who now hold a commanding 25-15 advantage in the Upper House, be able to add two more seats and win a two-thirds majority? The answer to both questions is about the same. It's possible but the odds are against it.

In all, some 31 women won major-party nominations for congressional or legislative seats this year, but many of them have virtually no chance of winning. All women running for the Senate this November will be underdogs, but the odds will not be very long on two of them. Councilwoman Renee Simon of Long Beach could defeat Senate Republican Leader George Deukmejian, and Mayor Betty Wilson of Santa Fe Springs has a fair chance of winning in a reapportioned district without an incumbent. Her opponent is Republican Assemblyman Bill Campbell, who is the favorite.

Actress Sabrina Schiller showed enough strength in the primary to scare incumbent Republican Lou Cusanovich in a district that should be carried by a Republican but is not impossible for a Democrat. Rose Ann Vuich nosed out another woman, Donna McKittrick, for the right to run against Assemblyman Ernest Moberly in a San Joaquin Valley district being abandoned by veteran Republican Howard Way. Although Democrats have a big registration edge, Moberly is the favorite.

Can the Democrats win 27 seats and thus be able, in theory, to pass any urgency or appropriation measures without a GOP vote? The 20 seats not being contested this year are 17-3 Democratic, and this means that the Democrats need capture only half the total seats up this year to reach the magic number of 27.

The odds are against that because there are nine districts that should go Republican, five that are safe Democratic and six that are doubtful. Democrats can hardly be expected to win five of these doubtful seats, although that is possible.

DISTRICT 1 (48%D-37%R)
Carothers (D) 17,137 (18%)



Sabrina Schiller



Betty Wilson



Renee Simon

Collier (Inc. D) 47,506 (50%)
Pizelo (D) 31,358 (33%)
Johnson (R) 42,342 (66%)
Schulzke (R) 20,186 (31%)
Von Nolde (R) 2,161 (3%)

The veteran Randolph Collier, father of the freeway system, managed to escape a tough primary he might have lost had there been one instead of two opponents. Now he must defeat former Assemblyman Ray Johnson, who has been working this far-flung northern territory for years. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 3 (62%D-32%R)

Rodda (Inc. D) 67,940

Rodda apparently can have his seat as long as he wants it. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 5 (68%D-22%R)

Furth (D) 33,052 (46%)
Mendelsohn (D) 34,508 (48%)
Baldine (D) 681 (1%)
Boyle (D) 3,742 (5%)
Marks (Inc. R.) 22,203
Blong (P & F) 378

Senator Milton Marks has made a career out of defying Democratic registration advantages. This will be the first time he has run from this reapportioned district, and Supervisor Bob Mendelsohn may take him. Mendelsohn nosed out anti-trust attorney Fred Furth in a heated Democratic primary. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 7 (60%D-35%R)

Malick (D) 30,976 (39%)
Beserra (D) 48,260 (61%)
Nejedly (Inc. R.) 53,723
Dietrich (AIP) 257

Incumbent Republican John Nejedly has a non-partisan image in Contra Costa County and he should win reelection. He has compiled an independent, environmentalist voting record. Nevertheless, the district some year could go Democratic because of the registration. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 9 (63%D-29%R)

Petris (Inc. D) 54,238
Mikuriya (R) 11,957 (29%)
Lichtenthal (R) 29,447 (71%)
Lee (P & F) 299

Veteran Democrat Nicholas Petris has a loyal following in northern Alameda County. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 11 (60%D-33%R)

Alquist (Inc. D) 63,448
Turpen (R) 35,999
Reed (AIP) 309

Reelection has always come easy for Al Alquist. This should be no exception. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 13 (59%D-36%R)

Garamendi (D) 62,973
Whitten (R) 42,407 (83%)
Burr (R) 8,532 (17%)

This district will be a prime battleground between the parties. Republican incumbent Clare Berryhill is retiring, and there is no early favorite between freshman Assemblyman John Garamendi and former Sacramento newscaster Bob Whitten. The district covers the wide open spaces where party loyalty is notoriously weak. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 15 (58%D-37%R)

Frank (D) 12,535 (22%)
McKittrick (D) 22,288 (39%)
Vuich (D) 22,563 (39%)
Moberly (R) 41,477

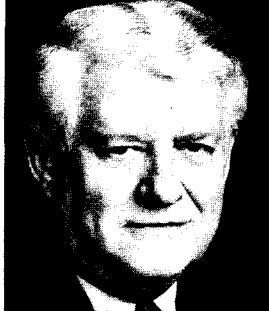
Assemblyman Ernest Moberly, who has run strong in the Fresno area, is trying to hold this seat for the Republicans following the retirement of Senator Howard Way. The registration would make it possible for Democrat Rose Ann Vuich to pull an upset. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 17 (55%D-38%R)

Poyner (D) 29,875 (37%)
Harry (D) 32,183 (40%)
Van Deren (D) 19,424 (24%)



Ray Johnson



Randolph Collier

Nimmo (R) 50,898

Assemblyman Bob Nimmo is the favorite to win this seat being vacated by veteran Republican Donald Grunsky. Democrat Phil Harry of Santa Cruz can't be counted out, especially if there is a large student turnout. **LEANS REPUBLICAN.**

DISTRICT 19 (50%D-42%R)

Schiller (D) 50,018 (67%)
Belser (D) 24,491 (33%)
Thomas (R) 19,947 (27%)
Cusanovich (Inc. R.) 54,388 (73%)

Democrats don't often carry districts like this, but they also don't often have candidates like Sabrina Schiller, an actress, environmentalist and consumer advocate. Incumbent Lou Cusanovich has been working hard to solidify this reapportioned district. **LEANS REPUBLICAN.**

DISTRICT 21 (44%D-51%R)

Loftus (D) 48,039
Russell (Inc. R) 73,313 (81%)
Ohmert (R) 8,709 (11%)

This will be a breeze for Newt Russell. **SAFE REPUBLICAN.**

DISTRICT 23 (63%D-29%R)

Roberti (Inc. D) 61,381
Adams (R) 29,811

David Roberti, Senate Democratic spokesman, will get another four-year term. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC.**

DISTRICT 25 (46%D-48%R)

Barbatoo (D) 44,111
Richardson (Inc. R) 72,798

Democrat Ron Barbatoo is campaigning, but that will only somewhat pare Bill Richardson's big margin of victory. **SAFE REPUBLICAN.**

DISTRICT 27 (52%D-41%R)

Wedworth (Inc. D) 32,520 (54%)
Nordeck (D) 27,261 (46%)
Beverly (R) 54,153

Two incumbents, Democrat James Wedworth and Republican Robert Stevens,

were put into this district by reapportionment. Stevens elected to retire, and Assemblyman Bob Beverly jumped in. Wedworth has a history of surviving close races, as he did against Councilman Steve Nordeck of Manhattan Beach in June. Beverly is the favorite. **LEANS REPUBLICAN.**

DISTRICT 29 (83%D-13%R)

Greene (Inc. D) 51,702
Dunlap (R) 7,483

The mystery is why a Republican bothers to run in this district against Bill Greene. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC.**

DISTRICT 31 (59%D-36%R)

Simon (D) 57,428
Deukmejian (Inc. R) 43,725

This district, which was significantly reapportioned, offers the best chance for a woman to break through the Senate's historical all-male barrier. Councilwoman Renee Simon has a distinct registration advantage, but Republican floor leader George Deukmejian is popular in the Long Beach area and will be tough to beat. **DOUBTFUL.**

DISTRICT 33 (54%D-40%R)

Green (D) 18,979 (28%)
Wilson (D) 26,130 (38%)
Olivet (D) 23,452 (34%)
Campbell (R) 48,053 (84%)
Ortiz (R) 4,829 (8%)
Soto (R) 1,913 (3%)
Harrison (R) 2,438 (4%)

Assemblyman Bill Campbell enjoys a status approaching incumbency in this "open" district created through reapportionment. Mayor Betty Wilson of Santa Fe Springs is an experienced campaigner who can't be counted out. **LEANS REPUBLICAN.**

DISTRICT 35 (43%D-50%R)

Zavala (D) 27,956 (45%)
Bell (D) 34,605 (55%)
Knuppel (R) 13,886 (16%)
Briggs (R) 55,853 (66%)
Lynch (R) 11,620 (14%)
Dutcher (R) 3,873 (5%)

Republican Senator James Whetmore decided to retire, leaving it ripe for picking by Assemblyman John Briggs. **SAFE REPUBLICAN.**

DISTRICT 37 (54%D-39%R)

Arbiso (D) 7,206 (10%)
Carpenter (D) 30,617 (44%)
Battin (D) 5,310 (8%)
Barr (D) 24,245 (35%)
Durham (D) 2,781 (4%)

Elkins (R) 8,829 (19%)
Norton (R) 23,047 (49%)
Burrell (R) 15,218 (32%)

This district was created through reapportionment. Both primaries were hotly contested, and freshman Assemblyman Paul Carpenter should have the edge. His opponent, Loran (Kojak) Norton, has received some adverse publicity in connection with a Grand Jury investigation into the activities of Dr. Louis Cella. **DOUBTFUL.**

DISTRICT 39 (50%D-41%R)

Wilson (D) 65,997 (78%)
Macias (D) 19,107 (22%)
Schrade (Inc. R.) 65,851

Jack Schrader, the oldest member of the Senate at 74, is in trouble. He is opposed by one of the best campaigners in the Legislature, Assemblyman Bob Wilson, in an area that once was solid for the GOP but has become increasingly Democratic. **DOUBTFUL.**

SENATE SPECIAL ELECTION

Democrats lost their two-thirds control of the Assembly with the election of veteran Assemblyman John F. Foran of San Francisco to the state Senate in a special runoff election held concurrently with the June 8th primary. The Assembly Democrats earlier had lost one seat with the death of Alfred Siegler of Vallejo, and Foran's election to succeed Mayor George Moscone of San Francisco reduced the majority to 53-25, one short of two-thirds. The results:

John F. Foran (D) 65,422
Bruce Makar (R) 38,654
Guy Caputo (AIP) 2,856
Patricia Dolbeare (Ind) 3,982

The 6th district, which is almost evenly divided between San Francisco and San Mateo Counties, had a registration of 65 percent Democratic, 29 percent Republican. Foran, who has managed to escape political extinction as a result of reapportionment on two occasions, was supported by all major Democratic elements in San Francisco.

ASSEMBLY

There are now three women in the Assembly: Pauline Davis, Leona Egeland and Teresa Hughes. Even though Davis is retiring this year, there should be twice as many Assemblywomen next year — perhaps three times as many. Female candidates did especially well in the June primaries of both parties, and in some of these districts the nomination was as good as election.

One of the most significant races took place in the district being va-

cated by retiring Assemblyman Leon Ralph of Watts. Ralph's administrative assistant, Johnny Collins, had the full backing of the organization headed by Lieutenant Governor Mervyn M. Dymally. For the first time, a Dymally-backed candidate was defeated, the nomination and thus the election going to Maxine Waters, administrative assistant to Los Angeles Councilman David Cunningham (a close ally to Mayor Tom Bradley). Dymally theorized that hereafter

whenever a good woman with a good campaign meets a good man with a good campaign, the woman will usually win.

Aside from Waters, women expected to win are Republicans Carol Hallett and Marilyn Ryan, and Democrat Jane Tolmach. Added to Hughes and Egeland, this would bring the female contingent to six. And there are several other women with opportunities to win.

Following the 1974 general elec-

tion, Democrats held a massive 55-25 advantage in the Assembly. That was pared to 50-25 by the death of Alfred Siegler and the election of John Foran to the Senate. What are the prospects for the 1977-78 session? An analysis of the primary results indicates that there are 41 safe Democratic seats, five leaning Democratic, 10 safe Republican and 10 leaning Republican. Eleven are doubtful. This means that the Democrats will probably top 50 but will have trouble hitting the magic mark of 54, which once again would give the party two thirds control of the house.

DISTRICT 1 (59%D-35%R)

Taunt (D) 4,902 (9%)
Richter (C) 10,268 (19%)
Goff (D) 14,441 (26%)
Sawyer (C) 4,835 (9%)
Smith (D) 20,167 (37%)
Connors (F) 3,886 (13%)
Waller (R) 3,353 (11%)
Statham (R) 23,698 (77%)

This is one of the most difficult races in the state to handicap. With Pauline Davis' retirement, the seat could be won by either party despite the Democratic registration advantage. Mayor Betty Smith of Chico ran surprisingly strong in the primary. She will face an opponent with good name identification in the cow-county district, Stan Statham, a television newscaster. DOUBTFUL

DISTRICT 2 (59%D-33%R)

Keene (Inc. D) 40,843
Spencer (R) 23,920
Patrick (P&F) 246

Democrat Barry Keene has been winning by big margins. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 3 (56%D-39%R)

Shaw (D) 32,393
Chappie (Inc. R) 29,228

Republican Eugene Chappie won a squeaker two years ago, prompting George Shaw (who lost a close one in another district several years ago) to try again. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 4 (62%D-32%R)

Fazio (Inc. D) 37,249
Lewis (R) 18,291

Vic Fazio won a tight special election earlier last year, but he shouldn't have any trouble this time. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 5 (62%D-33%R)

Gualco (Inc. D) 28,730 (74%)
Smith (D) 4,336 (11%)
Brouillette (D) 5,740 (15%)
Jeter (R) 16,367

Eugene Gualco should coast to a second term. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 6 (63%D-32%R)

Greene (Inc. D) 36,284 (86%)
Winslow (D) 5,732 (14%)
Vandegriff (R) 14,894

Leroy Greene should roll up another 2-1 victory. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 7 (57%D-38%R)

Tsukigi (D) 4,209 (9%)
Richards (D) 2,473 (5%)

Robyn (D) 5,004 (11%)
Waters (D) 18,159 (41%)
Sargent (D) 11,465 (26%)
Baumbach (D) 3,293 (7%)
Ronzone (R) 3,710 (11%)
Parises (R) 15,741 (46%)
Sagaser (R) 3,290 (10%)
Hughes (R) 11,331 (33%)

The large field was prompted by the decision of Assemblyman John Garamendi to seek a state Senate seat. The election could go either way, with both nominees experienced campaigners - former Alameda County Supervisor Norm Waters and former San Joaquin County supervisor Dan Parises. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 8 (58%D-37%R)

Siegler (Inc. D) 26,191
Greenslate (R) 27,798
Depenau (P&F) 137

The equation in this district changed dramatically with the death of incumbent Al Siegler just before the primary. His successor will be chosen by the Democratic central committees in Napa, Solano and Sonoma counties. The Democratic selectee will have a registration bulge but Republicans will target the district. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 9 (53%D-38%R)

Raznikov (D) 18,639 (40%)
Wornum (Inc. D) 28,200 (60%)
Miskimen (R) 29,379
Dias (P&F) 237

Michael Wornum didn't look too strong in the primary and Councilman John Miskimen of San Rafael has a chance. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 10 (54%D-41%R)

Boatwright (Inc. D) 40,471
Graves (R) 30,470

This is one seat the female candidate won't win. Dan Boatwright runs ahead of registration, and Betsy Graves won't come close. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 11 (69%D-27%R)

Knox (Inc. D) 31,812 (68%)
Cook (D) 14,954 (32%)
Dietrich (AIP) 177

Assembly Speaker pro Tempore John Knox has become an institution in this west Contra Costa County district. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 12 (58%D-35%R)

Miller (D) 3,499 (6%)
Macnab (D) 10,116 (18%)
Bates (D) 31,614 (56%)
Levinson (D) 1,603 (3%)
Dove (D) 9,657 (17%)
Flegal (R) 27,010
Callison (P&F) 124 (59%)
Shireman (P&F) 87 (41%)

Assemblyman Ken Meade of Berkeley chose not to seek reelection, theoretically putting his seat up for grabs. But there was no real contest once Alameda County Supervisor Tom Bates, with support from the organization of Congressman Ron Dellums, entered the contest. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 13 (72%D-20%R)

Widener (D) 10,091 (26%)
Miller (Inc. D) 28,438 (74%)
Roust (R) 6,694
Phillips (P&F) 106

As it turned out, Mayor Warren Widener of Berkeley didn't pose much of a threat to incumbent John J. Miller. Widener, a former Miller aide, had the problem of being viewed as a moderate inside Berkeley and a radical outside. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 14 (72%D-23%R)

Lockyer (Inc. D) 27,137
Bosley (R) 12,140
Ker (P&F) 35

This will be a cakewalk for incumbent Bill Lockyer. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 15 (61%D-32%R)

Mori (Inc. D) 33,986
Wirt (R) 8,203 (41%)
Funsch (R) 11,735 (59%)

Incumbent Floyd Mori, who won the seat in a tightly contested special election, appears to have solidified his hold on the district. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 16 (71%D-19%R)

Agnos (D) 16,431 (53%)
Milk (D) 13,095 (42%)
De Osuna (D) 1,784 (6%)
Tripp (R) 4,503 (68%)
Wadsworth (R) 742 (11%)
Medina (R) 1,394 (21%)
Hudiburgh (P&F) 229

This seat was vacated by John F. Foran, who won a special state Senate election. Art Agnos, long time aide to Speaker Leo McCarthy, won the backing of virtually every major Democratic figure in San Francisco. Yet, by running against the "machine," businessman Harvey Milk, a homosexual, was able to make the race close. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 17 (65%D-24%R)

Brown (Inc. D) 29,951



Norman Waters



Dan Parises

Simpson (P&F) 169

Justifiably, no Republican decided it was worth the effort to oppose Assemblyman Willie Brown. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 18 (69%D-25%R)

McCarthy (Inc. D) 32,995
Meyer (R) 10,467

This will be another breeze year for Assembly Speaker Leo McCarthy. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 19 (61%D-33%R)

Papan (Inc. D) 29,878
Adams (R) 15,657
Kerska (AIP) 110

Even in a year when women seem to be on the rise, Dorothy Adams will not come

close to incumbent Louis Papan of Daly City. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC.**

DISTRICT 20 (50%D-44%R)

Arnett (Inc. R) 32,118

The middle-road politics of Republican Dixon Arnett of Redwood City pay off at election time. **SAFE REPUBLICAN.**

DISTRICT 21 (55%D-37%R)

Calvo (Inc. D) 31,490

Sanger (R) 20,648

Freshman Victor Calvo of Mountain View will probably run ahead of his Democratic registration. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC.**

DISTRICT 22 (46%D-47%R)

Hayden (Inc. R) 30,801 (73%)

Donohue (R) 11,591 (27%)

Incumbent Dick Hayden of Sunnyvale represents the only Northern California district with a GOP registration edge. **SAFE REPUBLICAN.**

DISTRICT 23 (62%D-31%R)

Vasconcellos (Inc. D) 32,440

Gissler (R) 15,360

Assemblyman John Vasconcellos of San Jose has developed a statewide following for his humanistic-politics crusade. He remains strong in his home district. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC.**

DISTRICT 24 (56%D-36%R)

Egeland (Inc. D) 34,837

Fletcher (R) 23,234

Republicans wanted this district badly two years ago, but Leona Egeland won it handily. She should repeat with even less trouble. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC.**

DISTRICT 25 (64%D-28%R)

McAlister (Inc. D) 26,907 (72%)

Vigil (D) 10,631 (28%)

Mozzetti (R) 13,156

Blakeman (AIP) 131

Incumbent Alistair McAlister of San Jose had only the primary to worry about, and he came through breezing. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC.**

DISTRICT 26 (62%D-33%R)

Torres (D) 2,486 (7%)

Perino (Inc. D) 20,675 (60%)

Nelson (D) 8,817 (26%)

Von Gunten (D) 2,247 (7%)

Carter (R) 10,396 (55%)

Sullivan (R) 8,419 (45%)

This will be one of the most hard fought races of the year. Freshman Carmen Perino of Stockton beat back a vigorous primary challenge from Lela Nelson. Former Assemblyman Doug Carter had a more difficult time with Gary Sullivan. Both Perino and Carter are veterans of the San Joaquin political wars, and Perino probably starts with a slight edge because Carter hurt himself two years ago with an attack on Ronald Reagan. **DOUBTFUL.**

DISTRICT 27 (62%D-33%R)

Thurman (Inc. D) 28,667

Incumbent John Thurman of Modesto is just as popular with Republicans as Democrats. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC.**

DISTRICT 28 (55%D-37%R)

Fuller (D) 17,611 (44%)

Mello (D) 22,066 (56%)

Gotthold (R) 8,813 (31%)

Wiens (R) 5,763 (20%)

Parrish (R) 13,891 (49%)

With the retirement of Republican Frank Murphy from the Legislature, this seat went up for grabs. Larry Parrish, a probation officer, had Murphy's support. But Watsonville businessman Henry Mello will have a good shot. **DOUBTFUL.**

DISTRICT 29 (54%D-40%R)

Dodd (D) 23,832

Seastrand (R) 11,857 (38%)

Nunlist (R) 620 (2%)

May (R) 2,037 (7%)

Hallett (R) 16,344 (53%)

Republican Bob Nimmo gave up this seat to run for the state Senate. The favorite is Carol Hallett, former aide to Nimmo and state Senator Donald Grunsky. The registration gives Democrat Martin Dodd a chance, but he's running against an experienced politician in Hallett. **LEANS REPUBLICAN.**

DISTRICT 30 (68%D-28%R)

Leap (D) 20,419

Maddy (Inc. R) 13,904

Some year the registration gap may catch up with Ken Maddy of Fresno, but probably not this year. **LEANS REPUBLICAN.**

DISTRICT 31 (59%D-37%R)

Zenovich (D) 5,441 (14%)

Leas (D) 6,979 (18%)

Lehman (D) 14,500 (37%)

Doig (D) 12,587 (32%)

Thompson (R) 2,390 (9%)

Jones (R) 16,664 (62%)

Bishop (R) 4,656 (17%)

Baughman (R) 3,074 (12%)

Cook (AIP) 114

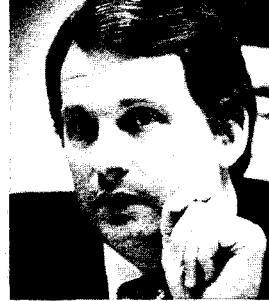
This district is currently represented by Republican Ernie Mobley, who is running for the state Senate. Despite the Democratic registration advantage, Republicans have done well in this Fresno-based district. Richard Lehman, aide to state Senator George Zenovich, topped a field of four, which included the senator's brother, Duke. The Republican nominee is Fresno farmer Bill Jones. **DOUBTFUL.**

DISTRICT 32 (58%D-38%R)

Kennedy (D) 19,410

Duffy (Inc. R) 19,484

This should be a replay of the 1974 election, won by incumbent Gordon Duffy of Hanford by a 3-2 margin over Bill Kennedy. **SAFE REPUBLICAN.**



Larry Parrish



Henry Mello

DISTRICT 33 (59%D-37%R)

Timmermans (D) 14,810 (44%)

Schilling (D) 18,869 (56%)

Thomas (Inc. R) 25,172

This Bakersfield district has gone back and forth between the parties over the years, and now it is defended by Republican Bill Thomas, one of the more impressive members of the current freshman class. **LEANS REPUBLICAN.**

DISTRICT 34 (54%D-40%R)

Rodio (D) 10,529 (30%)

Chimbole (Inc. D) 25,000 (70%)

Wyman (R) 15,012 (53%)

Wheeler (R) 3,235 (11%)

Harwood (R) 10,225 (36%)

Larry Chimbole of Palmdale won this wide-open-spaces district following reapportionment. Rancher-attorney Phil Wyman may find it difficult campaigning against him in this desert region. **LEANS DEMOCRATIC.**

DISTRICT 35 (53%D-38%R)

Hart (Inc. D) 41,896

Saucedo (R) 28,417

It would take a strong candidate, stronger than the Republicans produced, to dislodge Democrat Gary Hart of Santa Barbara. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC.**

DISTRICT 36 (55%D-40%R)

Tolmach (D) 19,299 (51%)

Jolicoeur (D) 9,846 (26%)

Bokron (D) 8,455 (23%)

Imbrecht (R) 26,366

Democrat Ken MacDonald gave up his seat and returned to the Ventura County Board of Supervisors. His likely successor is Jane McCormick Tolmach, a long-time member of the Oxnard city council. The district has never been considered solid Democratic, however. **LEANS DEMOCRATIC.**

DISTRICT 37 (51%D-44%R)

Campbell (D) 6,607 (20%)

White (D) 8,502 (26%)

Mathews (D) 18,026 (54%)

Cline (Inc. R) 32,055

Reelection won't come easy this year for incumbent Bob Cline of Northridge. Consumer advocate Arline Mathews will run an aggressive campaign. **LEANS REPUBLICAN.**

DISTRICT 38 (50%D-44%R)

Mann (D) 35,439

Priolo (Inc. R) 37,878

Republican floor leader Paul Priolo of Malibu has not been winning too comfortably in recent years. If this is the year of the woman, Betty Mann could pull an upset. **LEANS REPUBLICAN.**

DISTRICT 39 (62%D-32%R)

Keyser (Inc. D) 28,021 (85%)

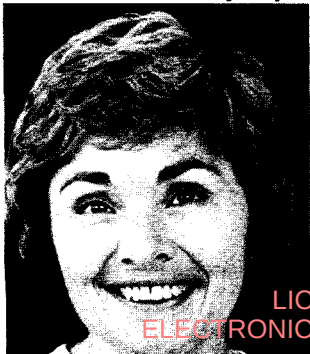
Secrist (D) 4,980 (15%)

Elersich (R) 9,113 (54%)

Carol Hallett

Marilyn Ryan

Maxine Waters



Hayes (R) 7,835 (46%)
Tucker (P&F) 67
Republican Ron Elersich ran far behind incumbent Jim Keysor two years ago in this San Fernando Valley district. The result should be about the same this time. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 41 (63%D-32%R)
 Aldrich (L) 9,966 (24%)
Bane (Inc. D) 31,071 (76%)
Scott (R) 18,358

Incumbent Tom Bane of Van Nuys is solidly entrenched. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 41 (46%D-49%R)
Antonovich (Inc. R) 36,699
Lucas (F&F) 31

Mike Antonovich of Glendale can probably keep this seat indefinitely. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 42 (42%D-52%R)
Johnston (D) 23,648
Crismer (R) 13,552 (30%)
Lanterman (Inc. R) 31,474 (70%)

Veteran Frank Lanterman of La Canada has been taking retirement but he keeps running for one last term. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 43 (61%D-33%R)
 Weiss (D) 7,020 (13%)
 Platt (D) 2,191 (4%)
 Nathanson (D) 5,669 (11%)
 Alan Berman (D) 3,578 (7%)
H. Berman (Inc. D) 33,982 (63%)
 De Krassel (D) 1,802 (3%)

The large primary field resulted from the expectation that incumbent Howard Berman of Beverly Hills might run for Congress. The contest was all over when Berman decided to seek reelection. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 44 (64%D-28%R)
Sieroty (Inc. D) 39,603
 Sherwin (R) 7,152 (32%)
Hoover (R) 15,489 (68%)
Takei (P&F) 151 (62%)
 Perriett (F&F) 92 (38%)

Incumbent Alan Sieroty of Los Angeles will be running for the Senate in a special election early next year, opening the district to all comers. Only a Democrat can win, however. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 45 (65%D-27%R)
Rosenthal (Inc. D) 43,687
 Solliday (R) 5,801 (31%)
Mikol (R) 12,951 (69%)

This is a seat a woman, Republican Betty Mikol of Los Angeles, won't win. Incumbent Herchel Rosenthal has an easy ride. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 46 (60%D-32%R)
Warren (Inc. D) 20,132
 Cayard (R) 3,285 (26%)
Watts (R) 4,716 (38%)
 Holmsworth (R) 4,475 (36%)

Incumbent Charles Warren has never had any problem with reelection. This year will be no exception. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 47 (83%D-13%R)
Hughes (Inc. D) 21,848 (83%)
 Dymally (D) 4,649 (17%)
Dunias (R) 3,311

This primary indicated that the support of Lieutenant Governor Mervyn Dymally,

which incumbent Teresa Hughes had, is more important than his name, which the lieutenant governor's brother, Romer, had. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 48 (83%D-14%R)
 Green (D) 1,414 (5%)
 Collins (D) 11,322 (37%)
Waters (D) 14,641 (48%)
 Smith (D) 718 (2%)
 Leseney (D) 2,225 (7%)
Neely (R) 3,841

This was one of the most significant primary contests because it pitted a member of the Dymally organization, Johnny Collins, against a member of the Tom Bradley organization. For the first time, the Dymally machine lost. The seat is being vacated by Democrat Leon Ralph, who did all he could to make his aide Collins his successor. But Maxine Waters, assistant to Councilman David Cunningham of Los Angeles, won by a surprising margin of 3,300 votes. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 49 (74%D-21%R)
Dixon (Inc. D) 34,103 (81%)
 Daniels (D) 8,009 (19%)

Democratic caucus chairman Julian Dixon is well entrenched. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 50 (72%D-24%R)
Tucker (Inc. D) 23,842 (71%)
 Collier (D) 6,295 (19%)
 Hill (D) 3,406 (10%)
Denault (R) 9,845
Keller (P&F) 37

Freshman Curtis Tucker of Inglewood made a strong showing that should help keep primary challengers away next time. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 51 (45%D-47%R)
Post (D) 16,699 (50%)
 Foy (D) 5,327 (16%)
 Brennan (D) 11,689 (35%)
Ryan (R) 13,095 (31%)
 Stephens (R) 3,204 (8%)
 Hilby (R) 11,694 (28%)
 Hoffenblum (R) 6,592 (16%)
 Douglass (R) 7,324 (18%)

The big field was after the seat vacated by Assemblyman Bob Beverly, who is running for the Senate. This is a Republican district, and Councilwoman Marilyn Ryan of Palos Verdes Estates should win in November. City Attorney Chip Post of Hermosa Beach has a remote chance of winning. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 52 (61%D-33%R)
Thomas (Inc. D) 31,224
Mattox (R) 14,389
Bader (AIP) 123

Vincent Thomas of San Pedro will keep his longevity string alive and win his 19th term. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 53 (69%D-24%R)
 Wear (D) 11,445 (37%)
 Miller (D) 11,375 (36%)
 Hartigan (D) 8,496 (27%)
Bannai (Inc. R) 10,286
Touren (AIP) 147

You look at the statistics and you can't understand how Republican Paul Bannai of Gardena keeps getting elected. The explanation is a large crossover vote of Democrats, primarily Japanese-Americans. The first tabulation gave Cindy Wear the Democratic nomination by 70 votes, but

Hawthorne Councilman Joe Miller moved ahead when damaged ballots were counted. A full recount was expected. The winner will have the task of keeping the Democratic voters loyal.

DISTRICT 54 (77%D-19%R)
 Thompson (D) 6,062 (23%)
Vicencia (Inc. D) 20,343 (77%)
Coxson (R) 5,908

Incumbent Frank Vicencia of Bellflower has a cinch district. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 55 (67%D-26%R)
Alatorre (Inc. D) 20,905 (82%)
 Chavez (D) 4,575 (18%)
Feliz (R) 8,962
McGlachlin (P&F) 105

This is solid Democratic territory for incumbent Richard Alatorre. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 56 (78%D-14%R)
Torres (Inc. D) 16,882
Miller (R) 2,877

Incumbent Art Torres will romp. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 57 (61%D-33%R)
Cullen (Inc. D) 25,973

Democrat Mike Cullen has gradually built himself a safe constituency. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 58 (57%D-38%R)
Chel (Inc. D) 34,671
 Wright (R) 10,119 (36%)
 Bentley (R) 3,531 (13%)
Dykema (R) 14,646 (52%)

This was a hotly contested district two years ago, and Democrat Fred Chel of Long Beach won by more than 7,000 votes. Businessman Dale Dykema will try to turn the tide this time but he probably won't succeed. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 59 (66%D-28%R)
Fenton (Inc. D) 32,175

Incumbent Jack Fenton of Montebello has no worries. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 60 (68%D-26%R)
Montoya (Inc. D) 22,843
Barron (R) 9,318

Chicano caucus leader Joe Montoya of Whittier has an easy district. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 61 (42%D-52%R)
Ostrye (D) 18,961
 Gilbertson (R) 4,647 (11%)
Collier (Inc. R) 22,305 (53%)
 Hage (R) 8,538 (20%)
 Decker (R) 6,782 (16%)
Scanlon (AIP) 141

When an incumbent, like veteran Bud Collier of Monrovia, only gets 53 percent of the vote, that should mean trouble. But a Democrat cannot win in this territory. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 62 (50%D-46%R)
Baldonado (D) 25,228
Lancaster (Inc. R) 31,646

Challenger Sandy Baldonado is an excellent candidate, but the district is probably Republican enough to reelect Bill Lancaster of Covina. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 63 (60%D-34%R)
Young (D) 23,255 (70%)
 Snelling (D) 10,209 (30%)
McLennan (Inc. R) 19,008

Ginn (P&F) 35

The incumbent, physician Bob McLennan, survived a tough race two years ago and should win again. But this district can never be considered safe for a Republican, and school board member Bruce Young of Cerritos has a chance. **LEANS REPUBLICAN.**

DISTRICT 64 (48%D-46%R)

Gonsalves (D) 14,961 (45%)
Aames (D) 7,163 (21%)
Carroll (D) 11,387 (34%)
Grisham (R) 13,203 (39%)



Jim Gonsalves



David Stirling

Stirling (R) 14,660 (43%)
Blevins (R) 4,348 (13%)
Lawson (R) 1,909 (6%)
Breazeale (AIP) 184

This district has been represented by Republican Bill Campbell, who is running for the state Senate. Republican David Stirling of Hacienda Heights should keep it for the GOP, but James Gonsalves of La Mirada knows the political game well. His father, Joe Gonsalves, was an Assembly member for many years. **LEANS REPUBLICAN.**

DISTRICT 65 (55%D-40%R)

McVittie (Inc. D) 22,270
Stephens (R) 11,677 (55%)
Donnelly (R) 9,644 (45%)

The GOP was nosed out of this seat two years ago and will make it a target this year. Incumbent Bill McVittie of Upland is the favorite over engineer Clyde Stephens of Pomona. **LEANS DEMOCRATIC.**

DISTRICT 66 (65%D-30%R)

Goggin (Inc. D) 21,453 (73%)
Bareno (D) 7,905 (27%)
Wolfenbarger (R) 13,622

Incumbent Terry Goggin, a political animal, should win handily once again. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC.**

DISTRICT 67 (48%D-46%R)

Lewis (Inc. R) 36,251

Republican Jerry Lewis has a lock on this seat. **SAFE REPUBLICAN.**

DISTRICT 68 (57%D-37%R)

Ingalls (Inc. D) 32,288
Harris (R) 21,363

Democrat Walter Ingalls of Riverside won by a wide margin in 1974, should repeat. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC.**

DISTRICT 69 (47%D-46%R)

Triplett (D) 5,186 (17%)
Gibbons (D) 9,938 (33%)
Miklaus (D) 8,415 (28%)
Hamud (D) 6,946 (23%)
Riegle (R) 2,566 (7%)
Ponticelli (R) 540 (1%)

Mosley (R) 3,703 (10%)
Harmony (R) 854 (2%)
Banks (R) 8,918 (23%)
Lewis (R) 559 (1%)
Dannemeyer (R) 17,364 (45%)
Davisson (R) 4,410 (11%)

Former Democratic Assemblyman Bill Dannemeyer of Fullerton, now a Republican, is the favorite to win this seat, abandoned by Republican John Briggs for a run at a Senate seat. Democrat Neal Gibbons cannot be counted out because Briggs did not win comfortably last time. **LEANS REPUBLICAN.**

DISTRICT 70 (40%D-53%R)

Tornay (D) 18,037 (64%)
Perdaris (D) 10,365 (37%)
Nestande (Inc. R) 42,975

Incumbent Bruce Nestande of Orange need not worry about any Democratic threat in this district. **SAFE REPUBLICAN.**

DISTRICT 71 (55%D-38%R)

Rotar (D) 2,863 (8%)
Kanel (D) 3,013 (8%)
Wray (D) 10,784 (28%)
Sonju (D) 8,022 (21%)
Slimmer (D) 1,681 (4%)
Barrett (D) 1,322 (4%)
Dailey (D) 1,322 (4%)
Davis (D) 9,259 (24%)
Thomas (R) 6,403 (25%)
Cordi (R) 8,677 (34%)
Seitz (R) 10,297 (41%)

This Orange County district is up for grabs with incumbent Democrat Paul Carpenter running for the Senate. The race between Chet Wray of Westminster and Phil Seitz of Anaheim could be tight. **DOUBTFUL.**

DISTRICT 72 (53%D-40%R)

Robinson (Inc. D) 18,172 (66%)
Mulkerin (D) 9,365 (34%)
Vogel (R) 13,008 (58%)
Brandt (R) 9,395 (42%)
Nichols (AIP) 170

Peter Vogel, a Santa Ana school board member, is the GOP hope for taking this seat away from freshman Democrat Richard Robinson, who won easily two years ago against a weak opponent. This will be a Republican target district. **DOUBTFUL.**

DISTRICT 73 (45%D-47%R)

Amante (D) 11,814 (32%)
Mangers (D) 25,506 (68%)
Burke (Inc. R) 40,453

In theory, this is a solid Republican district. But Democrat Dennis Mangers of Huntington Beach came close to pulling an upset over incumbent Bob Burke two years ago, and now he's trying again. **LEANS REPUBLICAN.**

DISTRICT 74 (34%D-59%R)

Cordova (D) 28,289
Grace (R) 1,831 (3%)
Asher (R) 1,482 (2%)
Abbott (R) 901 (1%)
Crosby (R) 12,127 (18%)
Sartin (R) 1,356 (2%)
Slemons (R) 17,262 (25%)
McGrath (R) 1,517 (2%)
Quigley (R) 6,761 (10%)
Hulsey (R) 8,164 (12%)
Hopwood (R) 512 (1%)
Bergeson (R) 14,666 (21%)
Lucus (R) 1,969 (3%)

Businessman Jim Slemons of Newport Beach has won himself an Assembly seat in this all-GOP district, now represented by Republican Bob Badham, who is headed for Congress. **SAFE REPUBLICAN.**

DISTRICT 75 (49%D-45%R)

Suitt (Inc. D) 24,584 (68%)
Horn (D) 11,646 (32%)
Enstrom (R) 11,133 (31%)
McCandless (R) 25,114 (69%)

Democrat Tom Suitt won the 1974 primary by write-in and then shocked the state's politicians by knocking off a Republican incumbent. The GOP is back for revenge this year with a tough nominee, Riverside County Supervisor Al McCandless. **DOUBTFUL.**

DISTRICT 76 (41%D-50%R)

Craven (Inc. R) 62,465

Republican Bill Craven is popular with both parties both at home in San Diego County and in Sacramento. **SAFE REPUBLICAN.**

DISTRICT 77 (48%D-44%R)

Reber (D) 13,996 (36%)
Cohelan (D) 14,767 (38%)
Davis (D) 10,029 (26%)
Ellis (R) 18,137 (43%)
Yoshioka (R) 3,830 (9%)
Quiett (R) 5,037 (12%)
Bollman (R) 15,518 (37%)

Both parties came up with good campaigners for this open seat, now held by Democrat Bob Wilson, who is running for the Senate. Democrat Tim Cohelan is the son of former Congressman Jeffery Cohelan of Berkeley, and Jim Ellis is a San Diego councilman. **DOUBTFUL.**

DISTRICT 78 (51%D-39%R)

Kapiloff (Inc. D) 33,584
Coupee (R) 27,855
Contessina (AIP) 112

Democrat Larry Kapiloff usually runs far ahead of the Democratic registration in this marginal district. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC.**

Al McCandless

Tom Suitt



DISTRICT 79 (60%D-32%R)

Chacon (Inc. D) 25,627
Andreen (R) 14,399
Emery (AIP) 114

This is the most Democratic district in San Diego County, and incumbent Peter Chacon should win again. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC.**

DISTRICT 80 (55%D-36%R)

Deddeh (Inc. D) 31,192
Pankhurst (R) 19,898

Veteran Wadie Deddeh usually piles up huge victory margins, and the outcome should be the same this year. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC.**

GETTING THE RED OUT

Crack of the whip on discriminating lenders

When you borrow money to buy a house, you are arranging for the use of your neighbor's savings through a lending institution. The saver and the institution want to place that money in secure properties that will provide a suitable interest return. The depositor does not want his or her money put into relatively unsafe ventures. That is the rationale used by mortgage bankers to justify a practice known as redlining.

In California, at least, state-chartered savings and loan associations, starting this month, will be making loans that they had previously considered risky investments. For more than a year, Donald Burns, the state secretary of business and transportation, has been pressuring lenders to stop redlining — or pay a high price. Through the savings and loan commissioner, Saul Perlis, the state has the power to reject all applications for new branches of state-chartered Savings and Loans (S & L) that do not cooperate.

Loan denial questioned

Nobody, according to Burns, knows the extent of redlining in California. But there is agreement that there are large urban areas of the state — the Watts area of Los Angeles, for example — in which it has been virtually impossible for an individual to obtain a conventional home mortgage. The low-income sections of our cities have been designated as poor risks for lenders. Lines have been drawn around the danger areas — thus giving the practice the name of redlining.

Burns reports that the state cannot now determine the extent to which loans are denied to Californians who are good credit risks and who are at-

tempting to purchase property of acceptable quality. He is attempting to obtain a monthly demographic profile of redlining through monitoring all loans by designations of sex, national origin and census tract. Any state S & L which appears to be refusing to make loans for geographical reasons will be called on the carpet. The regulations that went into effect July 1 would:

- *Prohibit consideration of neighborhood factors in making loans unless a documented case can be made that such loans would constitute unsafe or unsound business practices.*

- *Ban any system of lending discriminating on the basis of race, reli-*

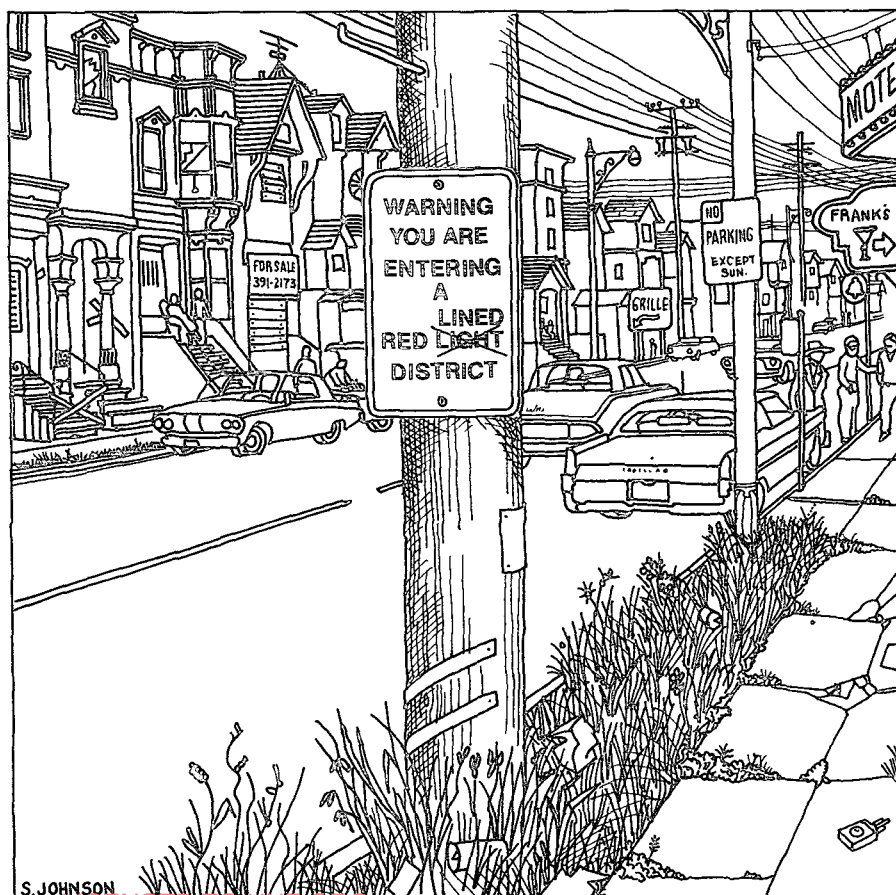
gion, sex, marital status or national origin.

- *Require that reasons for denial of a loan be given in writing.*

- *Establish boards of inquiry in Los Angeles and San Francisco to hear appeals on loan denials.*

Governor Brown has described these regulations as "the toughest and most stringent anti-redlining campaign of any state or jurisdiction in the United States of America." The rules may indeed be tough, but the problem facing the state is enforcing them. This is the real job facing Burns and Perlis.

The first step — and this already may be accomplished — is to get the



This article was researched in part by Julie Thompson, a Sacramento free-lance writer.

lenders to understand that the state is looking over their shoulder and will use whatever tools are available to crack down on institutions that keep practicing redlining. The problem is first uncovering redlining, then applying the right pressure.

Computerization of loans on a monthly basis will provide statistical information, but that is hardly evidence. Burns said every complaint filed against a state-chartered savings and loan will automatically trigger an audit of the lending practices of that institution. A lay-language booklet is being prepared so that consumers can understand the mortgage procedure and know whether they are being victimized by redlining. Every institution under state jurisdiction will be required to put its loan procedures in writing. These procedures must be found acceptable and then must be followed, or the commissioner may not look kindly upon branch applications from that association. Perlis also has the power to issue cease-and-desist orders that can be enforced in the courts.

Burns wants S & Ls to segregate their appraisal and underwriting operations. The people who decide what a piece of property is worth shouldn't be deciding whether the risk is worth taking," he explained. An easy way to redline is to appraise property so low that a loan is not feasible. Technically, the institution has not refused to make a loan, but the effect is the same.

LA Times survey

The Los Angeles *Times*, conducting a survey of the S&L industry, came to the conclusion there has been a dramatic change in lending policies of these associations. Just a year ago, when Burns began his crusade, there were heated debates between lenders and consumer organizations. The institutions took the view they were refusing loans in the redlined areas — usually low-income, minority neighborhoods — for sound business reasons.

In some parts of the country, consumers reacted with "greenlining" — pulling deposits out of institutions practicing redlining. In California, maximum pressure was applied by the state. The state treasurer, Jesse Unruh, announced that he would no longer deposit public funds in banks which discriminated. Legislation was enacted to establish a loan-insurance program. Burns made it clear that he considers lenders quasi-public utilities with a responsibility to provide loans in rundown areas of cities

even if they are not ideal risks.

Redlining does not affect merely the individual seeking a loan. It tends to accelerate the delapidation of a neighborhood, producing numerous problems for local government and increasing the burden on the entire city. By forcing funds into these low-income areas, the state hopes it will spur rehabilitation of many homes that are fundamentally sound but have been neglected for lack of mortgage funds.

Redlining, according to Burns, has been practiced in every large city in the nation. In Los Angeles, it developed as an aftermath of the Watts riots of 1965. Savings and loan executives claim that after the riots a number of appraisers were beaten or harrassed when they looked at property in south central Los Angeles. Delinquencies on existing loans increased because residents felt they were no longer getting their money's worth in the severely damaged community.

During the last decade, redlining spread to other sections of Los Angeles, according to the *Times*. Even today, it is difficult to obtain conventional financing for homes in portions of East Los Angeles, Pacoima, Pasadena, Pomona, San Pedro, Venice and Long Beach. One group claims that more than a million Angelenos live in redlined areas.

Some savings and loan executives claim that they never have redlined. They do say they were "selective" in granting loans in minority neighborhoods. William Popejoy, president of American Savings and Loan Association, reported last year that 94 percent of the properties his company owned through foreclosure were in so-called redlined neighborhoods.

Some S&Ls claim they are granting loans in these areas despite these experiences because they have been led to see the injustice of redlining. Herbert J. Young, president of Gibraltar Savings, reports that his firm is making loans now that would not have been offered a year ago.

This view is far from unanimous. Some realtors in the Watts area feel that only a token number of conventional loans are coming into the area, at least in comparison to the pre-riot days. Some consumer advocates maintain redlining is just as prevalent as before. Now it is more subtle, they say, and loans are being denied through the under-appraisal system. Presumably, that practice will end under the Brown Administration reforms.

State statistics, however, seem to

back up the lenders. More loans are being made by state-chartered institutions in the target areas, while there have been decreases in some high-income areas, including Beverly Hills and Palos Verdes.

Administration's job ahead

Among the tasks now facing the Administration is deciding on a case-by-case basis what constitutes tokenism and what constitutes a genuine effort to grant loans without regard for geographical boundaries. The state may find it difficult to crack down on an institution with a poor computer printout but no complaints filed against it. There is some question as to how the state can eliminate redlining by lending institutions such as commercial banks and federally chartered savings and loans which are not regulated by the state.

Skeptics add that by attacking redlining, the Administration is working on only the tip of the iceberg — that low-income, minority-occupied neighborhoods have a plethora of problems that can only be alleviated by massive amounts of public funds and by drastic improvement in employment. Loans for buildings, they emphasize, do not solve problems that are fundamentally human.

Nevertheless, the Administration's anti-redlining program at least could provide justice to those Californians who have been denied loans simply because they have chosen to live in buildings located within blocks selected for special treatment by the mortgage-lending industry. 🏠

Cartoon book



no longer available

We regret to inform our readers that the best political-book bargain of the year, "The American Presidency in Political Cartoons, 1776-1976," is no longer available from the *Journal*. Reader response to our advertisement in the May issue exhausted our supply, and we have thus far been unable to obtain any additional copies.

COUNTY CENTRAL COMMITTEES

The elected officials nobody knows (or needs to)

By LUIS BUHLER

Question Can you identify the elected officials in California who outnumber the 120 members of the Legislature and the 296 members of all the county boards of supervisors combined?

Answer: The members of political-party county central committees.

Obvious next question: Who cares?

Answer: Almost nobody. Along with other decaying grass-roots organizations, county central committees have been cast onto the political compost pile.

Although the official job of the county committee is to run the "party campaign" under the elections code, few committees can live up to the responsibility. Early in the century, local parties lost the power to back primary candidates and grant jobs. Recently, all political parties have become subject to public skepticism. And California's professionalized local campaigns have turned from volunteers to media and direct mail. The decline of the volunteer campaign has been the latest blow to the county central committee importance.

Role for county committees

These officials are elected every two years by assembly or supervisorial districts. County committees range in size from 21 members to over 250 (Los Angeles). Incumbents almost always win, and ballot position is the most important factor when there are vacancies. Few candidates campaign. When openings occur between elections, they are filled by a vote of the county committee itself—producing one of the most inbred cliques in politics. There is little incentive to serve.

The author prepared this article as a Coro Foundation fellow on assignment to the Journal.

Once basic budget decisions are made, according to San Francisco's Democratic Chairman Agar Jaicks, there is little else for members to do.

It doesn't have to be that way. There is a role—and a meaningful one—if new life can be breathed into this almost decomposed body. The county committees already spend time discussing issues and resolutions, but no one except the committee members ever hears about it. Some feel that debate and subsequent stands on issues improves the party image. Others feel it divides members and draws attention away from the more important purpose of electing

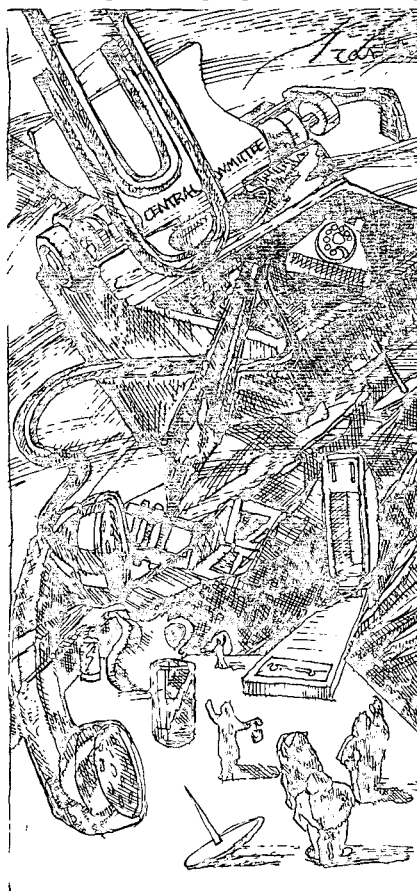
candidates. Committees still could provide local forums and help party credibility without coming to divisive conclusions.

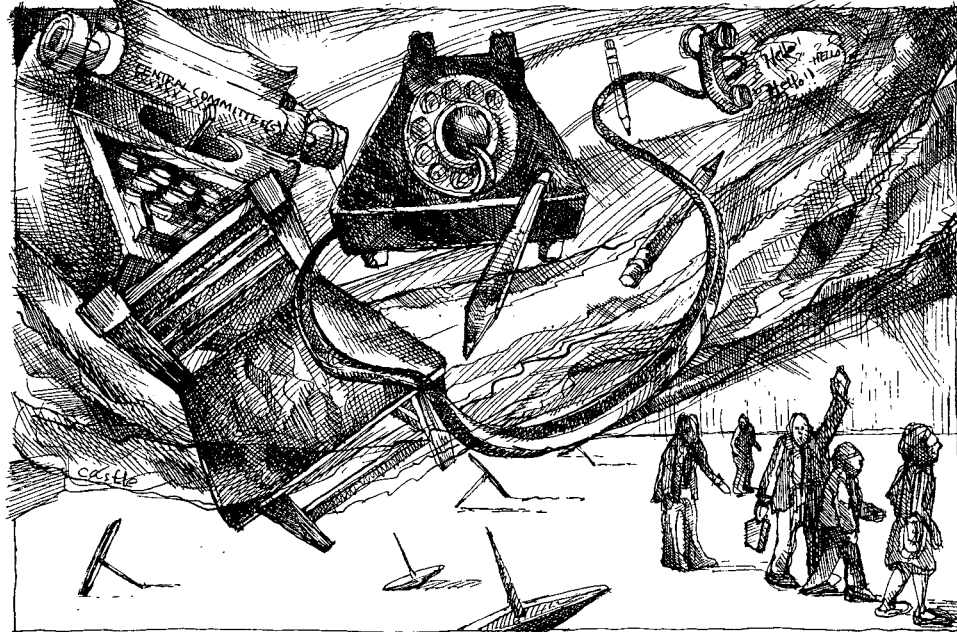
Another potential role for local party structure is the development of new candidates. Through the county committee, a candidate could gain experience and exposure. A shrewd county committee could target one or two key local contests a year in which to run new candidates, as relatively small amounts of resources can make a difference in the outcome of those races. These local officials then would be logical choices as nominees for state and federal office.

Currently, most county central committees leave a lot to be desired in candidate development. One Republican committeeman said, "There is a certain naiveté among central committee members about where candidates come from." Not cognizant of the political birds and the bees, there are few central committee programs to seek out new faces for public office. Some have only superficial candidate-screening committees, while others avoid local races (where county committees have the legal right to endorse) for fear of splitting membership over local politics. The result is candidates must establish themselves independently before they come to the committee for help. And if they can do that, they usually don't need the little help the committee can give.

Volunteer nucleus

A county committee does provide a nucleus of the party faithful. If the local party could field and organize a large number of volunteers, candidates would sit up and take notice. Computer lists of volunteers organized by residence and by the type of work the volunteer is able to perform would be ideal. The key is an efficient updating system. Even if this utopia is not possible, just fielding





large registration and election-day squads would be significant.

As of now, the record is poor for central committees in these areas. In San Francisco, Democrats claim to have registered 60,000 new party members in the 1972 presidential year campaign. But only a fraction of this number was registered by volunteers. Registrars paid for by the candidates themselves accounted for the greatest number of new voters. Republicans traditionally have relied on volunteers, but only recently have a few counties begun to keep updated computer lists that could be used to turn out several hundred volunteers on a given day. Computer time costs more money than most county committees have.

Most county central committees have little capacity to raise money either for their own activities or for candidates. Sophisticated direct-mail campaigns have been available to candidates for years, but they are only beginning to be used by local party organizations which rely mostly on fund-raising dinners and a small group of contributors for money.

The Santa Clara County Republican committee is one of the few to use direct mail successfully. Going beyond the personal acquaintances of the finance committee members, the Santa Clara group raises over \$40,000 each year. This money goes for staff and candidate-support services. Statewide, Republicans have used direct mail extensively in the past year. State party leaders are actively encouraging county chairmen to use this developed expertise to implement their own direct-mail campaigns.

But direct-mail campaigns take a certain amount of capital investment before they begin to produce results,

and many committees do not have adequate funds even to begin a direct-mail drive. In Los Angeles County, the Democratic central committee runs a total annual budget of approximately \$10,000 — hardly enough to pay for one full-time staff person let alone start a direct-mail campaign.

New funding

There have been some attempts to find new methods of financing. AB 1597, introduced by Assemblyman Howard L. Berman, was recently signed into law. It is designed to give new financial capability to local committees by allowing the political parties to put a fund-raising envelope in the sample ballot sent to each registered voter. Most committee members are reluctant to predict exactly how much money this will raise, but Democrats in particular are hopeful this will attract some new funding from their diverse and hard-to-reach registrants.

As a prospect for the more distant future, a proposal for California's own version of the federal income tax checkoff was introduced this year by Assembly Speaker Leo T. McCarthy. In this case, the funds would go for registration and get-out-the-vote drives now carried out by the county committees. While the bill died in committee, Assemblyman Bill Lockyer, a backer of the plan, indicates another stronger try will be made next year.

In other states, political party operations are kept alive by the desire of activists to control powerful party machinery that can be used to provide jobs, choose candidates and decide issues. This is not true in California and, as one Democratic party leader said, the county committees have become a "form without substance." The

answer according to some leaders is to give central committees more control over candidates and elected officials who have become almost independent of party structure. But a movement in this direction brings up some very basic questions.

Basic California values

California has a tradition of weak parties that has allowed candidates to make direct appeals to the voters, many times across party lines. A large group of independent thinkers has developed, often acting as the swing element in close elections. A strengthened party system might be viewed as an unwelcome intrusion, a "political machine" attempting to drive a wedge between a voter and a candidate. The results could backfire.

More important than the threat to California's traditional non-partisan political scene is the threat to California's government-by-participation. Would the increased role for the party structure improve a citizen's chance to participate in the government, or would it lead to the backroom control that was typified in the days when Southern Pacific Railroad ran the state?

Some argue that an increased party role would further reduce the power of the large contributors that, up until now, have given money directly to candidates and exerted powerful control. These special interests would be replaced by a broad-based political party made up of all the diverse elements of California society.

Others fear the impact of a large political machine on the electoral process. Would a strong party system lend itself to easy control by a small number of power brokers? Under this heavily partisan situation, what would happen when a problem arises that calls for a non- or bi-partisan answer?

This dilemma may well decide the future of county central committees by stopping any decision from being made at all. Elected officials who have the power to change the system would be imposing new restrictions on themselves if they gave the party structure more control. This they are not likely to do. No one wants to share power unless forced to do so. There is no compelling reason to change the present situation. The changes that could be made by the county committees themselves go undone for lack of leadership and initiative. Although there is a role the local party structure can play, is it worth the philosophical and practical problems that would come from getting there? 🏠

The continuing crusade for state political reform

During the past year, the Journal has published articles critical of the political-reform movement in general and implementation of the Political Reform Act of 1974 in particular. In order to provide balance, the Journal invited representatives of Common Cause, which has spearheaded the political-reform movement

throughout the nation, to present the other side. The following article was written by Michael Walsh, a San Diego attorney and chairman of California Common Cause since 1973, and Michael Burkart, a member of Common Cause's California Board of Directors.

By MICHAEL H. WALSH and MICHAEL BURKART

Political reform has been the subject of much abuse lately. Attacks have been leveled at "reformers" generally. The word "reform" in some quarters is suspect at best, and carries a pejorative connotation at worst. While there is little suggestion of public dissatisfaction with Proposition 9, the Political Reform Act of 1974, many legislators and lobbyists find the act to be an anathema — and their sharp attacks on portions of the law are matched only by their distaste for further fundamental reform and their disdain for those who sponsor such efforts.

Attacks on political reform are hardly new. Critics on the left and on the right have attacked reform efforts for years, but usually for different reasons. Leftists believe all our political problems arise from the capitalist organization of our economic system and argue that anything other than the eradication of capitalism simply clouds the issue and delays an ultimate solution. At the other end of the spectrum, those on the right are skeptical of almost all of the new reforms — because they deny the existence of any serious problems with the political game as now practiced.

But, lately, many of the criticisms of political reform have taken on a new dimension, and new charges have been leveled. Some argue the political reforms achieved in the last few years in California and elsewhere were unnecessary and ill advised — simply an overreaction to Watergate — and have brought about confusion and quite possibly critical damage to our political process. The apocalyptic tone of some of this criticism suggests that the gears of democracy will shortly freeze. (See "Political Reform as a Danger to Democracy," *CJ*, August 1975.) Other critics inform us that the reforms are ineffectual and suggest that the momentum for further reform has, thank goodness, abated. (See "Political Reform at the Critical Crossroad," *CJ*, April 1976.)

National progress

This criticism can do considerable damage if left unchallenged. Political reform accomplished at the ballot box, in the legislative process, and in the court is an affirmation that a free people can govern themselves, and that the democratic process is vital and viable. In this perspective, political reforms are solid statements that our system is capable of responding to change and capable of moving forward with new ideas.

First, consider the progress achieved at the federal level: The seniority system in Congress has been changed. No longer does arbitrary power accrue to those whose only claim is length of service. The Freedom of Information Act has made it possible for citizens to get at important government records. No longer do government officials have unlimited discretion about when and if important documents will be released. The cloture vote in the Senate has been reduced from two-thirds to three-fifths, a step toward freeing legislative action from the control of a minority. Committees of Congress no longer conduct their business in secret without being accountable for their actions. Several executive branch agencies have begun logging contacts with representatives of groups trying to influence government decisions.

The citizens' right-to-know has also produced widespread information on the "who" and the "how much" of campaign funding. That right-to-know has been solidly upheld in court tests and has quickly become a bright thread in the democratic fabric. A virtual revolution has taken place in the funding of presidential campaigns. The Maurice Stans and Herbert Kalmbachs, who so dominated the 1972 presidential election, have been replaced by more than 30 million taxpayers, each of whom have checked off one dollar to provide for the cleanest, most broadly based financing of any presidential campaign in history. These accomplishments all grew out of organized actions by citizens who felt governmental processes should reflect in practice the principles of a free and open society. All these were victories over the natural tendency of power to entrench and protect itself from public scrutiny.

On the state level, where power often operates in a less visible manner, reform groups have produced a wave of political reform unprecedented in the history of this country. Almost every state has passed significant reforms in the areas of open meetings, lobby disclosure, conflict of interest, and campaign-finance disclosure, and many have followed the lead of Congress in passing reforms similar to the Freedom of Information Act. In no state have the voters been more active or more successful than in California. In passing Proposition 9 in June 1974, almost 70 percent of the voters said yes to a host of reforms including lobbyist regulation, campaign-finance disclosure, and conflict-of-interest regulations.

Despite claims to the contrary, the momentum for political reform has not abated. Bills on lobbying regulation and financial disclosure are now moving in Congress. In California, additional reforms have been passed since Proposition 9. This past fall AB 23 by Leon Ralph rectified serious omissions from the California Public Records Act including, for the first time, coverage of both the Legislature and the governor's office. Besides enacting a Legislative Open Records Act that makes most legislative records public, the bill requires the Legislature and the governor to issue annual reports itemizing expenditures by individual legislators, committees of the Legislature, and the Governor.

Given both the volume and the impact of political reform, it is important that criticisms of these new laws be balanced against their accomplishments. Substantial steps forward are seldom made without an occasional backward movement — and attempts to improve the political process involve a certain amount of trial and error.

Courts mold new laws

To judge by some accounts, one would think that our recently enacted reform laws were reeling from death blows dealt by various courts. A sober analysis reveals a different picture. The U.S. Supreme Court, in *Buckley v. Valeo*, certified the constitutionality of almost every major element of the campaign finance reform packages urged by many reformers. The court upheld, against a First Amendment attack, disclosure of major contributors and expenditures. Against anguished cries that it would stifle participation, the court also upheld limits on the size of individual campaign contributions. Similarly, and perhaps most important of all, the court ruled that public financing of political campaigns was well within the constitutional authority of Congress.

Equally widely misunderstood was the Superior Court ruling in the case of *Institute of Governmental Advocates v. Younger*. Facts do not support the frequently heard assertion that this case dealt a serious blow to Proposition 9. In the *Governmental Advocates* case, the IGA, an association of Sacramento lobbyists, challenged a Fair Political Practices Commission (FPPC) regulation interpreting the Proposition 9 prohibition against lobbyists "arranging for" campaign contributions. The suspect regulation had interpreted the word "arranging" to prohibit a lobbyist from advising or "recommending" to his employer to whom the employer should contribute. The IGA claimed that this regulation was an unconstitutional restraint of free speech.

Superior Court Judge Harry L. Hupp granted a preliminary injunction, but only against the enforcement of that section of the FPPC regulation that prohibited the giving of mere advice by a lobbyist to his employer. The Proposition 9 prohibitions against a lobbyist making, acting as an agent or an intermediary in the making, or arranging for a contribution remain in effect.

One hears that "volunteerism" in politics has been hurt by Proposition 9. A more careful analysis of this criticism suggests the "volunteers" the critics are talking about are in large part a small group of individuals who act as campaign treasurers or who handle campaign funds. It is alleged that it is becoming increasingly difficult to find campaign volunteers willing to assume financial responsibility for campaigns because of the complexity of the new laws and the fear of being fined.

In reality, the reporting requirements of Proposition 9 are not significantly more complex than the requirements under the old law. What has changed is that, for the first time, disclosure laws are being enforced. Campaign



treasurers are being required to assume the responsibility of making accurate, complete, on-time reports — something they would have been required to do if the old laws actually had been fully implemented. In the past, disclosure reporting was slipshod. Standards were non-existent, and everybody knew it. Some filers even disdained the official forms in favor of their own format and their own concept of what was to be reported. Disclosure is virtually useless unless it is made fully and in a standard manner.

Former FPPC Commissioner Tony Miller was widely quoted in January 1976 when he resigned saying that Proposition 9 was having a "chilling effect on political activity." But Miller himself says, "A lot of the problems have resulted from ignorance and confusion, and from misconceptions about what the law requires. Better education and information for the public will solve much of this, and so will the changes the Commission is recommending to the Legislature, such as raising itemized contributions from \$50 to \$100."

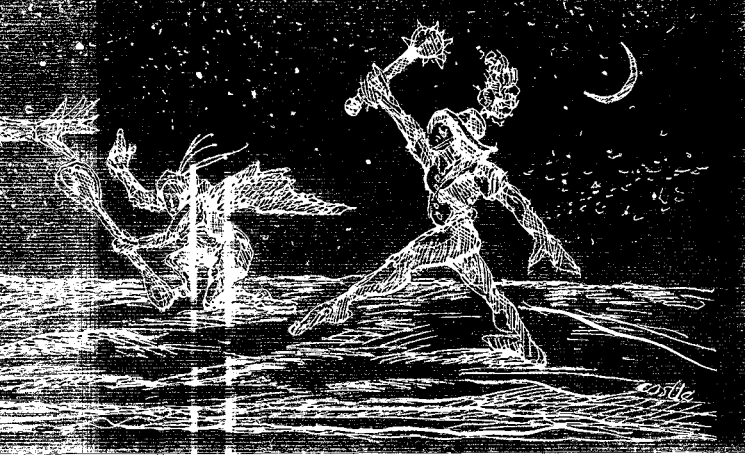
Resignations explained

Notwithstanding reports to the contrary, Miller, who was a conscientious and hard-working member, did not quit because of his dissatisfaction with the Commission or Proposition 9. He resigned to accept a full-time position with Secretary of State March Fong Eu. Carol Waters, the other Commission member who resigned in January, also left for personal, not philosophical reasons.

Have Proposition 9 disclosures discouraged private citizens from contributing to political campaigns? Does the disclosure of information regarding the name, occupation and employer of contributors of \$50 or more force an individual to risk reprisal from an employer, or, as claimed by the *San Francisco Chronicle*, from a "nickel-watching spouse?"

Reports of reprisals from either employers or spouses are few and far between. Regarding the former, legal redress is available. Furthermore, the disclosure required under Proposition 9 arguably provides more anonymity for those giving small amounts than did the old law. The pre-reform statute called for the name and city of every contributor, no matter how trivial the donation. Since dollar amounts had to be specified only for those giving \$500 or more, it was left to the imagination of those interested in the reports to determine whether the under-\$500 donor had given a token one dollar or a behind-you-all-the-way \$499.

This is not to say that there is not room for improvement in the way state agencies are administering the act, in the FPPC's regulations, and in the law itself. Unfortunately, not all of the agencies sharing in the administration of Proposition 9 have done an exemplary job. For example, many feel that the Franchise Tax Board views its auditing responsibilities as a vehicle for bureaucratic empire building, and that the amount of detail in the audits and the number of man-hours being spent are not justified.



Similarly, Secretary of State March Fong Eu has seen fit to approach her duties with what some believe to be more politics than competence in mind. Late last year, Eu succeeded in grabbing headlines with a press release announcing some \$70,000 in fines for late filing of lobbyist reports, claiming that "Proposition 9 was catching the little fish and letting the big fish get away." A decent analysis of her own data not only invalidates this charge (75% of those fined were economic special interests), but points to her own failure to fulfill her responsibilities as clearly required under the law — to check reports for on-the-face compliance, and to promptly notify filers of obvious errors or failure to file on time.

Similarly, some of the regulations and procedures adopted by the Commission have been too complicated and difficult to comprehend and follow. This is, in all probability, the consequence of having to do a great deal in a short time, and is in the process of being worked out. The law was not chiseled in marble and the drafters never claimed to be omniscient. That's exactly why provision was made for amendment of the act "to further its purposes" by two-thirds vote of the Legislature.

The FPPC has worked hard to alleviate unnecessary burdens on those persons covered by the act. In February of this year, the Commission held a series of meetings around the state to get public reaction to one year's experience with the FPPC regulations. The result of those hearings was a package of proposed changes to simplify and clarify the act. Most of the changes will help to make compliance easier without any significant diminution in public disclosure. Some of the proposals are not needed and might unnecessarily weaken the act.

The question still remains: Have political reform efforts been worthwhile or have they merely been counterproductive over-reactions to Watergate? Let's look at the record.

Impact on Lobbying. The Proposition 9 lobbying regulations have changed the way business is done in Sacramento. The social, and even fraternal, links between the Legislature and the third house, links that give the well-heeled lobbyist an extra edge, are breaking down.

Public disclosure. The backbone of the reform laws has been public disclosure — disclosure of lobbying activities, disclosure by public officials of their economic interests, and disclosure of campaign contributions and expenditures. Judging by the evidence to date, the new disclosure laws have been beneficial. But we must remember that disclosure is not designed just to let the public know what happened — it's also to let us know what didn't happen.

Campaign financing. Disclosure of campaign financing has provided a body of enormously useful information. We have long known that incumbents are almost never turned out of office, and that very few even have close contests. Prior to meaningful disclosure, we were unable to see what campaign funding had to do with this. This is what we have learned from legislative races in the 1974 general election:

- *Economic special interests bankroll elections.* Businesses, corporations, unions and trade and professional associations contribute over half of the funds given.

- *All candidates get their share of special-interest money, except those who challenge incumbents.* The average incumbent assemblyman received \$18,500; the average open-district candidate \$14,500; but the typical challenger received only \$1,000 in 1974.

- *Special interests back the winners* — 85 percent of their money goes to the victors.

- *Most challengers, because they do not get "their share" of special-interest money and have no other large source of contributions, are grossly underfinanced.* The 72 Assembly and Senate challengers in '74 had median total contributions of just \$6,800.

- *An underfinanced challenger has almost no chance of unseating an incumbent, or even coming close to winning.* The amount a challenger spends has a significant effect on how close the contest is.

This situation is highly unsatisfactory for two reasons. First, too many legislators are dependent on economic special interests for the wherewithal to run for and stay in office. Second, reliance on special-interest financing has undermined our system of free elections. An election cannot be free unless the electors are offered a clear choice of alternatives. The qualifications and platform of an underfinanced, underpublicized challenger are so little known that the typical voter has no real option but to vote for the candidate he has at least heard of — the incumbent. As it is now, too many potentially strong candidates never even attempt a challenge, and too many entrenched incumbents are never really held accountable for their performance in office. This is not the way a republican form of government is supposed to work.

The reality of the situation is that we've turned over our elections — the central nervous system of our government — to special interests. We let them determine, to a large degree, who runs and who wins. This is not to imply some sort of conspiracy; there is none. Each special interest independently pursues its own selfish goals, but the end result frequently is detrimental to good government and inimical to society as a whole.

The next step

The only reasonable solution to this problem seems to be to drastically reduce the amount of special interest money in elections, replacing the loss with some other source of campaign funds. The best alternative source of funds is to ask everyone to help pay for elections by partially subsidizing campaigns. When viewed in the context of the problem, subsidizing elections is a perfectly appropriate use of public funds. As with other public goods, we are asking everyone to help share the cost of creating competitive elections in order to have a more representative government for the majority. The benefits from spending the public's money on the public's business — elections — can certainly be no less than in public education, where even childless adults pay taxes for education because of the very real economic and social benefits to the entire society of having an educated population.

The critics notwithstanding, political reform is neither counterproductive nor over with. The main elements of the various reform packages are in place, generally working well, and have withstood basic legal challenges. The next big step — public financing of major political campaigns — is not far off. The present system of financing election campaigns is so illogical and so erosive of trust in government that it is not a question of need for additional reform, it is a question of when.

Gaucus

by HUGO

SPORTS ANNOUNCING
ON RADIO WAS SEASONAL.
I DIDN'T GET ENOUGH
EXPOSURE.



MOTION PICTURES
WERE BETTER BUT
IMPORTANT ROLES
WERE FEW - STILL
TOO LITTLE
EXPOSURE.



TELEVISION WAS
GOOD - BUT A
ONCE-A-WEEK
SERIES WAS STILL
NOT ENOUGH
EXPOSURE



AS GOVERNOR OF
CALIFORNIA I WAS
ON THE TUBE ALMOST
DAILY BUT THE EXPOSURE
WAS TOO
REGIONAL



THE PRESIDENCY
IS MORE LIKE
IT...



...REALLY
BIG TIME
SHOW BIZ!



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The human element in the CalTrans firings

By PAUL CARL

Transportation sat on the wall;
Transportation took a great fall.
All the gas taxes and Governor's
men
Couldn't put Caltrans together again.

Drop into the Sacramento headquarters of the state Department of Transportation at 1120 N Street on any given day and visit a rest room. If you want to know how people *feel* at Caltrans these days, that's the place to see the handwriting on the wall. For example:

Join a car pool — drive a friend to the Unemployment Office.

And another:

Question: With all the screws we're getting, why can't we hold this place together?

Graffiti will always be graffiti — a way of letting off steam when other channels are blocked. And the graffiti level is up at Caltrans, and the messages are getting grimmer as more and more jobs are abolished. The Department of Transportation is cutting 2,500 people this fiscal year, with more cuts to follow. Perhaps half of these people will be placed in other jobs, but the rest will just get their walking papers, as had more than 820 by March 24th. There are more than state workers' jobs at stake; with the decline of the highway program comes a decline in related activities: fewer contracts, fewer jobs in the construction industry, fewer consultant contracts, fewer purchases of chemicals, plants and shrubs, and so on.

But read the writing on the restroom walls. Almost without exception, the graffiti represent a personal view of the situation at Caltrans. Not

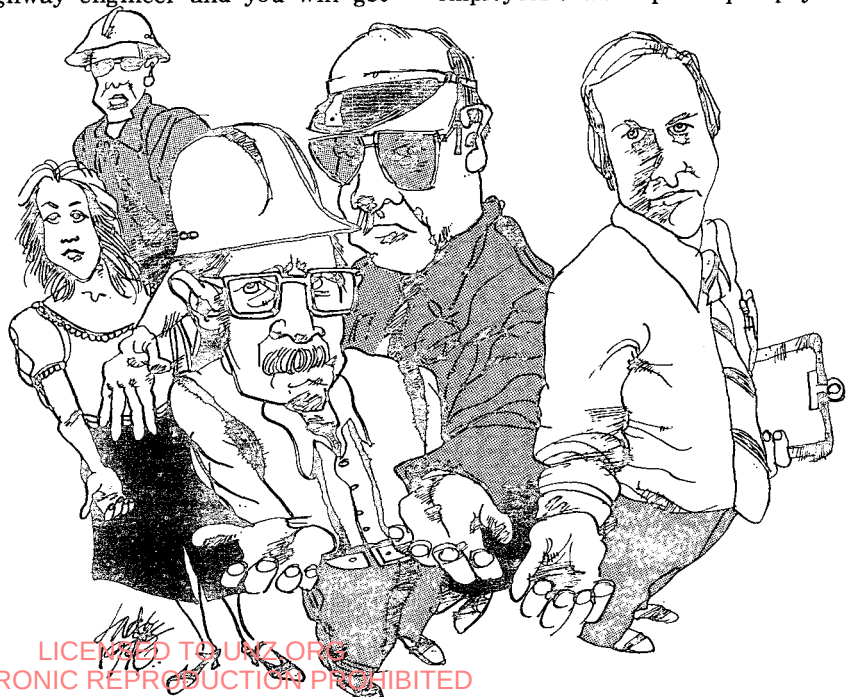
the company view, or even the consensus of a small group. Just one person's view. If the big story's told in numbers — reduction of 2,500 units of personnel — the personal drama is another matter: "You're fired!" The graffiti, you'll find, are dominated by the following several personal viewpoints:

I did what you asked me. Some years ago the people of California decided that it was worth paying to have good roads on which to drive their private cars, and they told the government, in effect: "Build 'em fast, build 'em cheaply, build 'em well." Then the federal government got into the act, primarily via the interstate system, which produced an era of road-building probably unparalleled anywhere in the world. In the process, this state also built a road-building system without peer, and this system used the best engineers and the best testing laboratory facilities to produce some of the best roads anywhere, dollar for dollar. Talk to any state highway engineer and you will get

facts and figures to back up these statements, to be sure, but mostly what will come through won't be the statistics, but the engineer's sense of bewilderment: What went wrong? Having done as they were told, and having done it well, their reward is demotion or layoff.

No one needs me anymore. Caltrans has 11 district offices, containing most of its present 14,000 employees. Many have worked in the same district office as long as they've been with the State of California and, to them, state employment means the Division of Highways, and to them it is an honor to belong. Or was.

Job Security — Bullshit! Particularly during the Reagan administration (though it appears to be true of the present one also), economy was a dominant theme, particularly when state employees' salaries were being discussed. While the Constitution of the State of California says that state employees shall be paid equal pay for



The author resigned voluntarily as a management auditor for the state Department of Transportation to try his hand at free-lance writing.

comparable work in private industry, there are two problems with putting this concept into practice: There aren't really *comparable* jobs in the private industry — how many private Highway Patrolmen do you know? — and sometimes there just isn't enough money to go around. Over the last four years, state employees have appealed to the Legislature for raises they either didn't get or got only a portion of. They appealed to the governor's office, too, and to the state Personnel Board, and even tried to strengthen the "equal pay for equal work" concept by taking it to the voters. Always came the rejoinder: "At least you have job security." Not even the most calloused managers in the aerospace industry ever suggested withholding part of a raise because the employee had "job security"; but the governor, the Legislature, and the people of this state have all done that with their employees.

I don't believe it. And so we come to what may well be the biggest lunatic factor in this whole sorry mess. In spite of the fact that layoffs are occurring in Caltrans right now, many people there refuse to believe it. Donald Burns, secretary of the Business and Transportation Agency, stated several times that this problem was foreseeable some years ago. That is correct. The problem, for the rank-and-file in Caltrans, has hardly been

not seeing the future, but in not realizing that the future would one day become a present reality.

Is anyone ignoring layoff talk now? The answer is: Yes, some are. And they can be grouped into three classes. There are those who don't give a damn, those who are eternal optimists (though their voices are fainter now and tend to quiver slightly as they argue that California is just going through a phase), and those who feel that they have nowhere to go. And these last are feeling the pain most severely.

Finding jobs

The Job Placement Center in Caltrans has found jobs in other enterprises, public and private, for 1,000 people since July 1, 1975, and it is proud of that record. But it is less than pleased to have identified 6,500 potential jobs that Caltrans workers could be filling but aren't accepting. Many of the job offers, admittedly, are in other sections of the country; a few in other parts of the world. Many offer openings, but with as much as a 20 percent cut in pay. Nevertheless, most of these jobs do offer a chance for new advancement and a potential for growth. Several engineering jobs right in Sacramento remained unfilled for several months although those positions were with another state department, paid at the same level, and required no more travel than the current job held by the per-

sons who received the offers. The problem: The positions were not promotions and these qualified engineers in Caltrans don't want lateral transfers but advancement. Some are going to get pink slips instead.

That may appear to be a foolish attitude, but it stems from learned behavior and inculcated expectation. The hardest-hit group — the young engineers — came through high school in the late '50s and early '60s, when Sputnik seemed to some to hang heavily in space and, in high schools across the country, counselors were telling every young man (and a few women) who had decent grades and a flair for math and science that the country was going to need thousands of engineers and would pay them well. These jobs, the youths were told, would offer *security*, chances for *advancement*, and the opportunity to *contribute*. Where are these folks now? Most are married, have 2.3 children, are buying a medium-size house and finding life to be pretty much as advertised.

But now, society doesn't need all its engineers any more — at least not to build highways. And these same people who for years felt the sense of worth and responsibility are now out of touch and confused. Of course, many will eventually find jobs and weather the transition. But some will not. All of which helps explain the following restroom scribble:

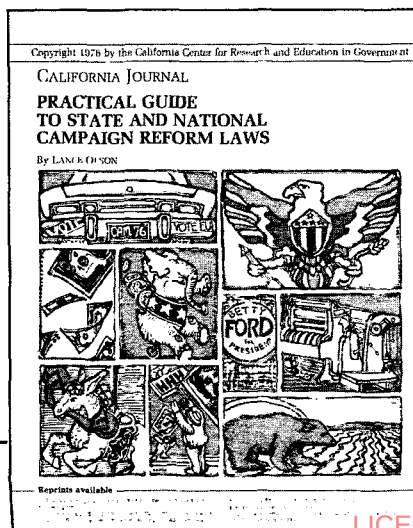
"Dear Motorist: Up your on-ramp." 🏠

Campaign-reform Guide

NO POLITICAL FREAK CAN RISK BEING WITHOUT ONE

Attention political activists, lawyers, candidates, accountants, campaign workers — anyone involved in the political campaign process:

You can get into serious trouble with



state or federal authorities unless you are familiar with the new campaign reform laws.

The easiest way to place the new rulebook of the political game at your fingertips is to obtain a copy of the **California Journal Practical Guide to State and National Campaign Reform Laws**.

This 12-page booklet, prepared in an easy-to-understand question-and-answer format, will solve most problems of those who feel that the rewards of participation outweigh the perils of inadvertent violation of campaign regulations. It is an essential document to anyone doing much more in the election process than voting.

Copies are available at the following rates: 100 or more copies, 40¢ each; 10-99 copies, 50¢ each; 2-9 copies, 75¢ each; single copy, \$1. Please add sales tax to all but single-copy orders. We pay postage on prepaid orders. Send your orders to **Journal Campaign Guide**, 1617 10th St., Sacramento 95814.

California CAPSULES

Cella's largess included \$10,000 for Jesse Unruh

Dr. Louis Cella, on trial for alleged misuse of almost \$2 million in hospital funds, indirectly gave state Treasurer Jesse Unruh \$10,000 for his 1974 campaign. The contribution came out in Unruh's testimony during cross-examination on the possible use of hospital funds in political campaigns. The scenario (according to testimony): Two checks were drawn on Mission Community Hospital's account (both partly owned by Cella) and were deposited in the account of Cella's former business advisor, Ted Schiffman, who wrote a \$10,000 check to Unruh. An invoice was prepared showing the sale of office furniture by Unruh to Southern California Democratic chairman, Richard O'Neill, a Cella partner. Unruh said that while he did not report the contribution in his campaign, he did report it as personal income that year.

Health Department statistics show abortion increase

A state Department of Health report required every two years shows an increase in abortions performed in California. After 138,584 abortions were performed in 1972, totals decreased to 131,870 in 1973 and 135,762 in 1974. The 1975 total is estimated at 143,000. Abortions performed in private offices do not have to be reported. The department said the trend had been affected by a lower proportion of out-of-state women seeking abortions in California (many other states have legalized abortions since the 1972 peak figure), and the increase of abortions involving Medi-Cal patients. A demographic profile of the typical woman seeking an abortion: white, never married, from 20 to 29 years old, with the abortion performed in a private hospital or clinic.

State tax man forced to return assets seized questionably

Pierre Roland Dupuy of Reseda was arrested in Mexico on drug charges in December of 1963. After serving 18 months, he was acquitted. No criminal charges were filed against Dupuy in this country. Still, four days after Dupuy was arrested in Mexico, the state of California issued a tax assessment against him for \$40,000 in 1972 income taxes and a similar amount for 1973. The state Franchise Tax Board estimated he had a \$400,000 annual income from illegal drug sales. The state refused to reveal the basis for the assessment. The state Supreme Court ruled that the state could not sell property seized from a taxpayer (in this case, bank accounts and securities) without holding a hearing. A complicated series of legal maneuvers followed, and at one point the state offered to return the assets to Dupuy if he agreed to take no further action against the state. He refused. Eventually the state agreed to give Dupuy his \$28,026 in savings, interest and unrefunded taxes, but not until Superior Court Judge Raymond Roberts had said, "So you are going to ruin him, and then after you have ruined him, you are going to say, 'Too bad, old

man, we made a mistake, but we are the state and you can't do anything about it.'"

Survey finds 17% of Californians have access to handguns

A Field Institute study conducted for the state Department of Justice concluded that 17 percent, or one Californian in six, either owns or has access to a handgun in working order. This figure indicates that 2.5 million persons living in California are, or can be, armed. The survey also found that: More than half of those who keep a gun said they need it for self defense. One in seven said the gun was connected with employment. About half of those who have guns said they got them within the last five years. Of those who don't have guns, one in 14 plans to get one soon. Almost one in 10 respondents said the gun had been used to protect the individual or property. The findings are in line with unofficial estimates by governmental agencies.

A CalTrans plan to shower Los Angeles with more diamonds

Despite reports of an increase in accidents on city streets and the annoyance of many drivers, the state Department of Transportation plans more diamond lanes for Los Angeles freeways. As a part of an overall strategy to force Californians out of their cars and into public transportation (preferably buses), CalTrans is "seeking advice" on the implementation of the next 10-mile stretch of preferential driving lanes scheduled for the northbound San Diego Freeway between the Santa Monica and Ventura freeways. Not making the same mistake twice, this time the preferential lane will be built on the shoulder for buses and cars with three or more passengers. The Santa Monica freeway experiment used the fast lane but many diamond-lane users were not able to get off the freeway until two exits beyond where they wanted to exit. In all, about 200 miles of Los Angeles freeways are due to sport "diamonds."

Clark Kerr says California losing lead in higher ed

Former University of California president Clark Kerr says California still has the best system of higher education in the United States in spite of recent events and not because of them. Kerr, now chairman of the Carnegie Foundation's Council on Policy Studies, says California is resting on past accomplishments rather than continuing to innovate. Alaska, New York, North Carolina, Wisconsin and the District of Columbia have taken leadership in the field, he claims. The 50 states were ranked in such areas as "effort" (percent of state personal income spent on higher education), "concern" (expenditure per full-time student in public colleges and universities), "competitive position" (how much a state spends on education compared to other expenditures), and "potential fiscal capacity" (states having a high per capita income and relatively unused tax capacity).

ROLL CALL

Round two on coastline control

The first major effort of 1976 to enact a permanent law controlling development of the California coastline went down to defeat in the Senate finance committee. But the California Coastal Zone Conservation Commission doesn't go out of business until the end of 1976, and that left oodles of time, by legislative standards, to insure that some shoreline controls supersede those put into effect by the Proposition 20 initiative enacted by the voters in 1972.

Legislative leaders indicated they would make a second attempt before the scheduled summer recess by amending the guts of the defeated measure, SB1579 by Senator Anthony Beilenson, into a related measure that had already cleared the Senate. This would be a vehicle for getting the issue into a conference committee, where a consensus might be reached most efficiently. There were two major hangups — how much control the state would take away from local government and how property owners might be compensated for loss of development rights.

To some lawmakers, an even bigger issue was a proposed constitutional amendment, SCA33 by Senator Newton Russell, changing the way salaries of legislators and other elected officials are established. Under the current

law, legislators must set their own wages and fringe benefits with a maximum five percent a year pay hike.

Under the Russell measure, which had cleared both houses by mid-June but was awaiting a Senate vote on amendments, the benefit-setting job would be handed to a seven-member Elected Officials Compensation Commission. (Effective December 6th, the basic legislative salary will be \$23,232 a year.) The main issues left to be resolved were whether the Legislature would reserve the ultimate authority over pay raises and whether judges should lose their current automatic cost-of-living salary increases. Russell's proposal would place the heads of the Fair Political Practices Commission, the Personnel Board and the Little Hoover Commission, two public members and representatives of two non-partisan organizations (like the League of Women Voters and the California Taxpayers Association) on the commission.

In other significant action, lawmakers approved a three-bill nuclear safety package, AB2820-22, which had the effect of helping defeat the Nuclear Power Plants Initiative (Proposition 15) on the June 8th ballot. (See the primary-election analysis elsewhere in this issue.)

Senate (24D, 15R)					
	SB 1737 SB 1555 SB 1760 SB 1396 AB 2822 SB 1378 SB 1974 SCA 49 SCA 52 SB 1444 SCA 47 SCA 54 SB 2153 SB 1521			SB 1737 SB 1555 SB 1760 SB 1396 AB 2822 SB 1378 SB 1974 SCA 49 SCA 52 SB 1444 SCA 47 SCA 54 SB 2153 SB 1521	
Alquist (D)	YY*YYYN	*YYYYYY	Nejedly (R)	YYNYNN	YNYYYYY
Ayala (D)	YYNYYYN	*YYYYYY	Petris (D)	Y*YYYYY	NYYYYYN
Behr (R)	YYYYYYY	NYYYYYY	Presley (D)	NYNYYYN	YYNYYYN
Beilenson (D)	*NY*YYY	N*YYYYY	Rains (D)	YY*YYYY	*YYYYYY
Berryhill (R)	*Y*NNNN	YNNNNN*	Richardson (R)	*.*NNNN	YNNYNNN
Carpenter (R)	*NN*NNN	YNNNNNN	Robbins (D)	*Y*YNY	YYY*YY*
Collier (D)	YYNY*NN	YNYYYYY	Roberti (D)	NYYYYYY	NNYYYYY
Cusanovich (R)	*YNNN*	YNNYYNN	Rodda (D)	YYYYYYY	NY*NYN
Deukmejian (R)	NYNNNYN	YNNNNNN	Russell (R)	YYNYNYN	YNNNNNN
Dills (D)	NYNYNNN	*NYYYYY	Schrade (R)	YYNYN*	*.NYYYN
Dunlap (D)	YYYYYYY	N*YYYYY	Smith (D)	YY*YYYY	NNYYYYY
Garcia (D)	*YN*Y*	*.*N*.*	Song (D)	YYYYYYY	NYYY*Y
Greene (D)	YY*YYYY	*YNYYYY	Stevens (R)	Y*.*YNY	Y*YYY*N
Gregorio (D)	NY*YYY	NYYYYYY	Stiern (D)	YNNYYYN	YNNNYNY
Grunsky (R)	YNNNNYN	YYYNNNN	Stull (R)	YNNNNNN	YNNNYNN
Holden (D)	YY*YYYY	*YYYYYY	Way (R)	NN*NNYN	YNNNNNY
Holmdahl (D)	*NN*NYN	*YYYYYY	Wedworth (D)	Y*NYYYN	*NNYYYY
Kennick (D)	*YYYYYN	N*YYYYY	Whetmore (R)	*YNNNNN	YNYYYYN
Marks (R)	YY*YNY	*YYYYYY	Zenovich (D)	YYNYYYN	YYYYNY
Mills (D)	NY*YYYY	*N*YYYY	(one vacancy)		

VOTING RECORDS

Listed here are the votes of legislators on recent major roll calls through June 17th. Votes selected involve issues of major importance and issues on which there was a major division of opinion, or both.

Y - Yes

N - No

* — Absent or not voting

A $\frac{2}{3}$ vote is required for urgency measures, constitutional amendments, and appropriations.

Assembly: 41 votes required for passage of bills needing a simple majority. ($\frac{2}{3}$ = 54 votes)

Senate: 21 votes required for passage of bills needing a simple majority. ($\frac{2}{3}$ = 27 votes)

Senate

EDUCATION

SB 1737 (Dunlap) — Enacts reforms in junior-high and high-school education under the so-called RISE plan and provides \$450 million for educational reforms. Passed 22-7.

EMPLOYMENT

SB 1555 (Berryhill) — Increases state-

employee salaries a flat \$70 a month, as requested by Governor Brown. Passed 28-7.

SB 1760 (Dunlap) — Reduces number of preference points for veterans taking civil-service examinations. Failed 9-18.

ENVIRONMENT

SB 1396 (Greene) — Submits \$200-million bond issue to voters to produce synthet-

ic fuels from solid waste. Passed 27-7.
AB 2822 (Nestande) — Prohibits operation of new nuclear plant unless the state Energy Commission finds that there is a demonstrated technology for disposal of nuclear wastes (part of three-bill package). Passed 23-15.

HEALTH

SB 1378 (Beilenson) — Places a two-year

moratorium on hospital construction. Passed 27-9.

SB 1974 (Dunlap) — Allows doctors and other health professions to advertise the cost of their services. Failed 15-21.

JUSTICE

SCA 49 (Richardson) — Proposed constitutional amendment spelling out the right of citizens to own firearms. Failed 17-9 (27 votes required).

SCA 52 (Scng) — Proposed constitutional amendment requiring all judges to retire at 70. Failed 15-18.

TAXATION

SB 1444 (Gregorio) — Increases cigarette tax 2¢ a carton to fund anti-smoking advertisements. Passed 27-10.

SCA 47 (Smith) — Proposed constitutional amendment allowing the Legislature to tax homes at a lower rate than businesses. Passed 27-9.

SCA 54 (Behr) — Proposed constitutional amendment to phase out property tax on owner-occupied homes and substitute a 20 percent income-tax surcharge. Passed 28-10.

MISCELLANEOUS

SB 2153 (Robbins) — Authorizes issuance of \$200 million for development of mass transit in the Los Angeles area. Passed 27-9.

SB 1521 (Alquist) — Permits sale of the Governor's mansion. Passed 22-14.

Assembly

CONSUMER AFFAIRS

AB 3368 (Robinson) — Prohibits telephone companies from charging for directory-assistance calls. Passed 50-11.

EDUCATION

AB 2669 (Kapiloff) — Requires state to pay part of each school district's contribution to the State Teachers Retirement System at a cost of \$52 million. Passed 58-17.

AB 2896 (Greene) — Imposes county-wide school tax rates in an attempt to comply partially with the *Serrano v. Priest* decision. Passed 42-24.

ELECTIONS AND POLITICAL REFORM

AB 3660 (Wilson) — Requires polls to be open from 6 a.m. to 9 p.m. on statewide election days. Passed 41-32.

SCA 33 (Russell) — Proposed constitutional amendment establishing a commission to set salaries and fringe benefits for elected state officials. Passed 60-9.

EMPLOYMENT

AB 3124 (Dixon) — Increases power of the

Assembly (55D, 25R)

	AB 3368	AB 2669	AB 2896	AB 3660	SCA 33	AB 3124	AB 2594	AB 4450	AB 2903	AB 2939	AB 3060	AB 3133	AB 2763	AB 4356		AB 3368	AB 2669	AB 2896	AB 3660	SCA 33	AB 3124	AB 2594	AB 4450	AB 2903	AB 2939	AB 3060	AB 3133	AB 2763	AB 4356
Alatorre (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Keene (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Antonovich (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Keysor (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Arnett (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Knox (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Badham (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Lancaster (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bane (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Lanterman (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bannai (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Lewis (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Berman (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Lockyer (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Beverly (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	MacDonald (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Boatwright (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Maddy (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Briggs (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	McAlister (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Brown (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	McCarthy (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Burke (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	McLennan (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Calvo (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	McVittie (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Campbell (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Meade (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Carpenter (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Miller (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Chacon (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Mobley (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Chappie (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Montoya (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Chel (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Mori (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Chimbole (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Murphy (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cline (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Nestande (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Collier (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Nimmo (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Craven (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Papan (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cullen (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Perino (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Davis (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Priolo (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Deddeh (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Ralph (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dixon (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Robinson (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Duffy (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Rosenthal (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Egeland (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Siegler (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Fazio (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Sieroty (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Fenton (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Suitt (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Foran (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Thomas, V. (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Garamendi (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Thomas, W. (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Goggin (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Thurman (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Greene, L. (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Torres (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Gualco (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Tucker (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hart (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Vasconcellos (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hayden (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Vicencia (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hughes (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Warren (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ingalls (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Wilson (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kapiloff (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Wornum (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

state Fair Employment Practices Commission. Passed 41-27.

HOUSING

AB 2594 (Hughes) — Prohibits "redlining" in the issuance of housing loans. Passed 45-25.

AB 4450 (Sieroty) — Requires that all buildings built after this year provide access for the physically handicapped. Passed 41-32.

HEALTH

AB 2903 (Goggin) — Would permit eye-care professionals to advertise their fees. Passed 42-26.

AB 2939 (Berman) — Creates doctor-financed medical malpractice fund. Passed 44-25.

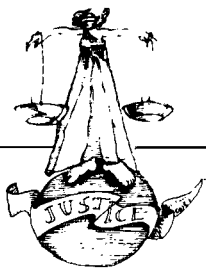
AB 3060 (Keene) — Enacts the Natural Death Act permitting adults to authorize that life-support systems be shut off in the event of terminal illness. Passed 47-27.

AB 3133 (McAlister) — Prohibits health insurers to cover abortions unless they also provide maternity benefits. Passed 45-28.

JUSTICE

AB 2763 (McLennan) — Provides that the prevailing party in a civil case is entitled to recover reasonable costs of litigation. Passed 43-23.

AB 4356 (Sieroty) — Requires the Adult Authority to abandon the indeterminate-sentence system. Passed 43-27.



SIGNIFICANT COURT ACTIONS

Rent control yes, Berkeley plan no

The State Supreme Court has ruled that California cities have the power to establish local rent-control laws but, at the same time, struck down Berkeley's 1972 rent-control initiative as unconstitutional. In a unanimous opinion written by Chief Justice Donald R. Wright, the court said the Berkeley law was invalid because its "provisions for adjusting maximum rents (failed) to relieve landlords from confiscatory rent levels."

In *Birkenfeld v. City of Berkeley*, the high court upheld a 1973 Alameda County Superior Court decision preventing the city from enforcing the initiative, which applied to about 22,000 of the 30,000 rental units in the city. The Supreme Court found that the Berkeley legislation, which was designed to prevent exploitation of a housing shortage through excessive rent charges, served a legitimate government purpose.

However, the Berkeley initiative

did not allow for across-the-board rent increases to meet rising landlord costs. Adjustments could only be made under a unit-by-unit hearing procedure which the court found would leave maximum rents in effect longer than would be reasonable.

Display of obscenity

A sharply divided Supreme Court issued a new opinion on the use of California's public-nuisance laws in obscenity cases. In *Busch v. Projection Room Theater*, the court majority ruled that law-enforcement officers may not use these statutes to close bookstores and movie theaters that display obscene material.

The court decided that these laws may be used to ban the display of obscene material, but they cannot be used against printed materials or films that have not been found obscene in court hearings. Closing of

the businesses, the court found, would be "impermissible prior restraint" on the freedom of speech and press.

The opinion was written by Justice Frank Richardson, joined by Wright and Justice Raymond Sullivan. A concurring and dissenting opinion was written by Justice William P. Clark, joined by Justice Marshall McComb. They thought the decision was too liberal. A separate concurring and dissenting opinion was filed by Justice Stanley Mosk, who thought the ruling too conservative. Justice Mathew O. Tobriner wrote a dissent claiming that the public-nuisance statutes do not govern private conduct and thus do not apply in these cases.

Part-time realtors

In a unanimous decision, the Supreme Court ruled in *Marin County Board of Realtors v. Palsson* that it is a violation of state anti-trust laws for a real estate organization to discriminate against part-time salesmen. The court said that licensed real-estate sales personnel must be given access to multiple-listing services and cannot be denied membership in an association of realtors.

NEWSMAKERS



Iris G. Sankey, 47, of Solana Beach in San Diego County was named by Governor Brown as a member of the state Board of Equalization. She succeeds John Lynch of Fresno, who died December 4th. Brown took more than five months to fill the vacancy. Sankey, who had headed the San Diego Energy Commission, promptly cast a tie-breaking vote that will result in higher property taxes for privately owned utility companies.

Brown may have paved the way for resolution of the impasse over funding

of the bankrupt Agricultural Labor Relations Board by filling the three vacancies on the panel. The new members are **Gerald A. Brown**, a Texas labor arbitrator; **Robert B. Hutchinson**, a San Mateo attorney, and **Ronald Ruiz**, a Santa Cruz attorney. He also appointed **Harry Delizonna**, a San Jose lawyer, as general counsel to the board. The Governor appointed Brown chairman of the board, succeeding Bishop **Roger Mahony**, who will leave the board late this year to return to his Fresno diocese. Growers indicated satisfaction with the appointees.

Controversial **Raymond Procnier**, 52, resigned as chairman of the Adult Authority after serving for almost 18 months without benefit of Senate confirmation of his appointment. "I've had enough controversy," he said . . . Former United States Attorney **Cecil Poole** was nominated by President Ford to be a U.S. District Judge in San Francisco. In 1968 and 1969, his nomination to a federal judgeship was blocked by former U.S. Senator George Murphy.

Richard E. Tuttle, a member of the state Energy Resources, Conservation and Development Commission, was named a Sacramento Superior Court judge by Brown . . . Oakland attorney **Robert E. Treuhaft** was appointed to the Board of Funeral Directors and Embalmers by the Governor. He is the husband of **Jessica Mitford** and helped research her book, "The American Way of Death." . . . **Clark H. Mitze**, chief of federal-state relations for the National Endowment for the Arts, was selected to replace **Eloise Smith** as director of the California Arts Council . . . **Marian Drinker** of Saratoga was elected to become the first woman president of the state Board of Education.

Orange County supervisor **Robert Battin** was found guilty of misusing his county-paid staff during his unsuccessful 1974 campaign for lieutenant governor . . . City manager **John R. Mansell** of Long Beach resigned after the Los Angeles *Times* reported that he had failed to investigate charges of misconduct by the city planning director.

Liberties with the truth

Ronald Reagan seems to have a genius for bringing out the worst in his opponents. First, there was Pat Brown, who until 1966 had earned a reputation as an exemplary campaigner. That reputation was damaged in unworthy maneuverings to block the nomination of George Christopher in favor of Reagan, the supposed easy mark, and it was lost entirely during the course of a television commercial in which Brown reminded schoolchildren that Abraham Lincoln had been shot by an actor. Four years later, Democrat Jesse Unruh gave Reagan a boost by rattling the house gates of one of Reagan's chief financial backers. This ill-conceived stunt succeeded in making Unruh the issue of Reagan's re-election campaign.

Now it is Jerry Ford's turn to make Reagan look good. Until the California primary, both Reagan and the President had behaved with surprising civility considering the closeness of the contest and the passions of the respective entourages. The President's men did make a strategic error of consequence in trying to pressure Reagan out of the race in North Carolina, and there were some harsh words on both sides during the Texas campaign. All in all, though, the conduct of the two candidates had given Republican politicians the expectation that a reasonable degree of party unity could be forged for the fall campaign. That expectation is now diminished, and Ford is largely to blame.

* * *

The opportunity for the presidential miscalculation was provided by another of Reagan's increasingly frequent blunders on the stump. This one came in Sacramento when Reagan declined to rule out sending U.S. troops to Rhodesia if necessary to enforce a peaceful settlement in that white-ruled African nation. Reagan's inept and rambling hypothetical response to a question he never should have answered fell far short of the scare accounts the next day in the San Francisco papers ("Reagan — Troops to Rhodesia," said one headline), and it is no accident that most of the national reporters covering Reagan at first gave scant attention to the Rhodesia gaffe. Left to itself, the "Rhodesia story" would have faded away quietly after reminding voters that Reagan really *doesn't* use words very carefully. But the blunder seemed heaven sent to Ford's strategists, whose preferred approach to the presidential contest has been to wreck Reagan rather than to advance Ford.

When the California campaign began, Ford committee deputy director Stuart Spencer, press secretary Peter Kaye and California campaign director David Liggett all said they wanted to run against Reagan's record as governor. This dubious strategy was vetoed by the President, who had seen polls showing that an overwhelming number of California Republicans regarded Reagan as having been a good governor. The President's decision not to attack Reagan on his record left his strategists frustrated. These strategists, particularly Spencer, have for the most part run an exceptional campaign on behalf of an inferior candidate. But they suffered in California because they knew Reagan not wisely but too well. They understood better than outsiders the ways Reagan's rhetoric inflated his accomplishments as governor, but they undervalued the accomplishments themselves. And because

they had once worked for Reagan and have strong feelings about the staff which surrounds him, they allowed personality to interfere with professionalism. When the Rhodesian blunder occurred, the Ford campaign moved almost automatically to an attack strategy without much thought about the consequences.

Initially, Reagan was uncommonly reflective about his own mistake, and he thought it might do him some harm. "I think I'm the one who had the lapse back there," Reagan told this reporter the day after the Sacramento speech. "Maybe I thought I was just doing a question-and-answer session, but there I was fishing around trying to answer hypothetical questions and gave him (the reporter asking the question) what he wanted. But it wasn't what I had in mind or what my position has been."

However, when Reagan learned the following day of the Ford campaign commercial which ended, "Remember Governor Reagan couldn't start a war; President Reagan could," his reflectiveness gave way to rage. Even so, he was calmer than his California campaign manager, Lyn Nofziger, who gave a fair imitation of Mt. Vesuvius when he learned of the Ford spots. Nonetheless, Nofziger perceived that the Ford commercials were potentially more damaging to the President than to Reagan. This insight was reflected in the Reagan counter-commercials, which advised voters to watch the Ford commercials, which even by the free-swinging standards of California campaigns took outrageous liberties with the truth. The initial statement that "Reagan said he would send American troops to Rhodesia" was dubious. The second statement that Reagan "clarified" this the following day by saying he would send "observers or advisers" was an outright lie. After making a valid point about Reagan's lack of carefulness and quoting Ford on Rhodesia, the commercial then proceeded to its "Governor Reagan couldn't start a war" denouement.

The reaction of the Reagan camp to this ad was reflected in a parody which made the rounds the next day: "As congressman, Gerald Ford couldn't pardon Richard Nixon. As president, he did." Reagan at first refused to believe that the President would have anything to do with the spot, which was sent to 24 television and 75 radio stations. When he learned that Ford was endorsing it, Reagan's opinion of the President, never very high, reached ground zero.

* * *

But the real scars were at the volunteer level. "I'll never work for Ford, never," said a young volunteer at the election-night Reagan victory party. And she is not alone. The anti-Reagan ads revealed that it is dangerous for the President to rely exclusively on the advice of men, however competent, who have a personal ax to grind in discrediting Reagan.

For his part, Ford showed himself too willing to employ tactics that were supposed to have vanished with the Nixon presidency. After Pat Brown's departure from his own previous high standards in the 1966 campaign, Harry Farrell of the San Jose *Mercury* observed that Brown had become "just another politician" when he authorized the smear of George Christopher.

The same might now be said of Jerry Ford.

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*Some politicians leave pussyfoot prints on the sands
of time.*
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